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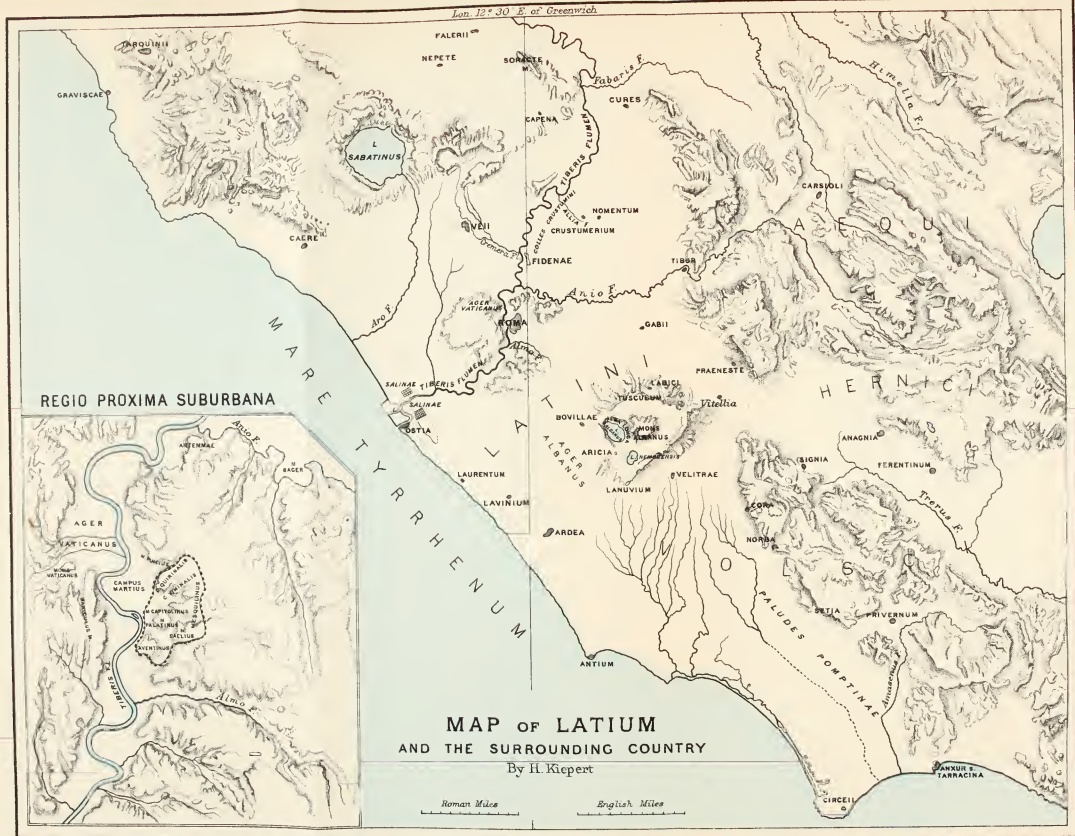
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London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.



Cambridge: DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO.
Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: MACMILLAN AND CO.

Lon. 12° 30' E. of Greenwich



Cambridge University Press

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Pitt Press Series

LIVY

BOOK V.

EDITED

FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BY

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CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

1894

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Cambridge :

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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition is based on that of the fifth annotated edition of Weissenborn and Müller. I have revised the orthography and endeavoured to render it consistent. I have also exercised my own judgment in the choice of various readings. A brief discussion of the most important variations in the Manuscripts and of the chief emendations proposed will be found in the Critical Appendix.

In preparing the notes I have derived much assistance from the editions of Weissenborn and Luterbacher. On questions of syntax I have made use of M. Riemann's excellent treatise *La Langue et la Grammaire de Tite-Live*, and of Dr Dräger's monumental *Historische Syntax*. I have consulted the works of Professor Lanciani, Professor Middleton and Mr Burn on the topography of Rome. In the discussion of historical questions I am indebted most of all to Dr Schwegler's *Römische Geschichte*; I have also made considerable use of Professor Mommsen's *Roman History*, *Römische Forschungen* and, on certain constitutional questions, of his *Römisches Staatsrecht*. I have in addition

constantly used *Le Droit Public Romain* of Professor Willems and Professor Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities*.

I have to thank Dr Kiepert for his kind permission to reproduce his map.

In the preparation of this edition I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr J. S. Reid, who read the whole of my notes and put at my disposal much additional matter, as well as to Mr R. A. Neil and Mr P. Giles, who also read my proofs and gave me the advantage of many criticisms and suggestions.

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August, 1890.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The authorities used by Livy.*

THE destruction of Rome by the Gauls, which forms the dramatic climax of the fifth book of Livy, marks an epoch for the historian of Rome. Livy himself tells us that most of the public and private documents then in existence perished in the conflagration; and it is only from the second founding of the city that the history of Rome rests on written records of a trustworthy character¹.

Certain inscriptions however engraved on bronze or stone survived the destruction of the city. We learn that almost the first work of the government after the departure of the Gauls was to seek out the laws and treaties which were still extant²; doubtless others of which the record had been destroyed were restored from memory, and the lists of magistrates from the earliest times were also preserved³. These monuments could not by themselves have afforded sufficient material for a detailed narrative, and the origins of Roman history must therefore be sought elsewhere. The annals of the Pontiffs and of the other

¹ Liv. VI. 1. 2. He explains that the history of Rome down to the capture of the city is obscure from its great antiquity, from the scantiness of written documents at the time, *et quod, etiam si quae (litterae) in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere.* Cf. Plut. Num. 1.

² Liv. VI. 1. 10.

³ The *Fasti Capitolini* drawn up in the time of Augustus must have been derived in the first instance from earlier monuments.

religious colleges, which formed so important a source for the later history of Rome, were probably not extant for the century preceding the Gallic invasion¹, but the history of this century is so precise in the account of the different wars, in the record of prodigies and of natural phenomena, that it could not have been composed without the aid of some chronicles².

Such chronicles, which had doubtless been preserved from destruction in the Capitol, brief, deficient and corrupt as they must have been, supplied the outlines of Rome's deeds and sufferings. They were supplemented by the legends celebrating the exploits of the ancestors of particular families. The memory of such exploits was kept up in the funeral orations³ delivered over the members of the great *gentes*, and in the inscriptions⁴ attached to the busts of their ancestors which the Roman nobles kept in their *atria*. Livy's account of the deeds of Camillus, who plays so important a part in this book, was doubtless derived ultimately from the family traditions of the *gens Furia*, and time had probably not diminished the greatness of his fame.

These records aided by oral tradition and possibly by some popular ballads⁵ preserved the national legends, until in the time of the second Punic war the writing of history began at Rome. From that date a series of annalists devoted themselves to the study of the past. Of these writers we have little direct know-

¹ We do not know if the annals of the Pontiffs were kept at this date, but the passages quoted in n. 1, p. vii., make it improbable that any official records were preserved.

² See Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, III. p. 271.

³ *laudationes*; 50. 7. Some of these were doubtless written down at different periods. Liv. VIII. 40. 7 warns us against the falsification contained in the funeral orations (*vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis*).

⁴ *stemmata, elogia*.

⁵ Niebuhr thought that many of the early legends of Rome were preserved in songs, and that from these many of the mythical details were derived. He undoubtedly exaggerated the importance of these ballads; but they may have supplied Ennius and Naevius with some of their material.

ledge. None of their works have been preserved and we can form but an imperfect idea of the way in which they were composed. On these works however Livy's history of this period was based. We have not sufficient evidence to enable us to decide what were the sources he used for particular periods, but it seems clear that he did not in his earlier books use at first hand the best annalists, such as Q. Fabius Pictor or L. Calpurnius Piso¹.

The writers, whose works he probably consulted most of all for the period we are considering, were Valerius Antias, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius and C. Licinius Macer. In the fifth book Livy mentions none of his authorities by name. He is probably indebted to Licinius Macer for his account of the services of Licinius², for Licinius Macer, who had strong plebeian sympathies, would naturally give a prominent place to the deeds of his ancestor. In his account of the Gallic disaster Livy may be following the authority of Q. Claudius Quadrigarius; for we know that this writer began his history with the invasion of the Gauls, and the anecdote of Pontius Cominius ascending the Capitol is quoted from Claudius by Aulus Gellius³ in much the same form in which Livy relates it⁴.

§ 2. *Livy's historical method.*

Livy did not, as we have seen, make use of primary sources, nor of the works of the earliest and most trustworthy writers. His history is a compilation derived from the annalists of the later republic⁵. He accepted, almost without criticism, what

¹ Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, II. p. 220. "Livy's work goes back to the annalists of the Sullan epoch and their successors."

² See n. on 20. 4. Licinius Macer is quoted by Livy in IV. 7. 12; 23. 2.

³ XVII. 2. 24.

⁴ 46. 8.

⁵ Livy's reliance on the annalists may be traced in the arrangement of his work in which events are related year by year, and in the short annalistic notices, which he sometimes reproduces almost without change. See n. on 13. 1.

he found in their works ; and unless there was a sharp disagreement between his authorities, or the events related by them were exceedingly improbable on internal grounds¹, his suspicions were not aroused. When his authorities do disagree, he sometimes gives us two varying accounts² ; in some cases he even uses different authorities in such a way as to render his narrative inconsistent³.

Livy was however aware of the difficulty of his task ; he realized how impossible it was to attain to truth in relating events of such remote antiquity⁴, and he was content to repeat the current legends, miraculous or improbable as they might be, without committing himself to a belief in them. Apart from his uncritical method of treating historical problems, we can trace in his work a strong patriotic bias⁵, which induced him always to accept that account of events which is most favourable to Rome, and, in discussing the wars which Rome waged with other nations, he followed the traditions which did least injury to the national pride. In the history of political struggles his sympathies are for the most part given to the old Roman aristocracy, although he was not wilfully unfair⁶.

§ 3. *The purpose of Livy's history.*

Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

VERG. *Aen.* I. 33.

Livy's history is therefore a compilation based on late and inferior authorities, which he used without criticism, and his work is to some extent coloured by his patriotic and political

¹ Cf. 21. 8 *inseritur huic loco fabula*. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, II. p. 302. 'It is characteristic of Livy's reliance on the later annalists, that he bases his criticism on internal grounds, and not on their differences from the earlier annalists.'

² There is a trace of this in 46. 11.

³ See n. on 18. 2.

⁴ 21. 9 *sed in rebus tam antiquis, si, quae similia veris sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam*. Cf. Praef. §§ 6—8.

⁵ See below, § 12.

⁶ See below, § 15.

feelings. We may fairly assume that historical truth was not his first object, and we have to consider what his purpose was in writing the early history of Rome. He himself describes it for us in his preface¹; it was to do his part in recording the proud deeds of the city which had attained to the empire of the world, to show what was the character of the men who had built up that empire and what policy they had followed both at home and abroad. He wished to divert men's eyes from the troubles of later years and to turn their gaze to the glorious days of Rome's rise to power and honour.

The first ten books of Livy were being composed about the same time as the Aeneid; both Vergil and Livy had the same patriotic purpose, "to celebrate the growth, in accordance with a divine dispensation, of the Roman empire and Roman civilization²." Livy however brought into greater prominence the moral causes which contributed to the growth of the empire. Only by virtue and manliness, justice and piety, was the dominion of the world achieved³. He wishes too to draw an effective contrast between present and past, to point the moral for the degenerate descendants of the heroes of ancient Rome.

§ 4. *The contents of the Fifth Book.*

Roman history at all periods may be regarded from two points of view; we may trace how Rome acquired and main-

¹ Praef. § 3 *iuvabit rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse*; § 9 he asks his readers to consider *quae vita, qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit*.

² Nettleship, *Essays in Latin Literature*, p. 101. Livy as a Stoic lays stress on the influence of providence; see nn. on 16. 8; 49. 1; 51. 4.

³ Livy has a profound admiration for the Roman of old days, and *Romanus* denotes for him all that is admirable; cf. 28. 3; 36. 1; 38. 5. Vergil sums up the great qualities of the Romans in Aeneas, who "embodies in his character the qualities of a warrior, a ruler, and a civilizer of men, the legendary impersonation of all that was great in the achievements of Rome." (Nettleship, p. 103.)

tained her Empire, or we may study the government and politics of the Imperial city¹. In connection with the first subject the fifth book tells us how Rome went to war for the last time with her great rival on the northern frontier, how Veii fell and how the other towns of South Etruria submitted to Rome. We have also an account of the border warfare of the Romans with the Aequi and Volsci, and lastly Livy relates how the Gauls came to Italy and were provoked by Rome, how the Romans were defeated and had their city destroyed. In connection with the second subject the struggles between patricians and plebeians at elections, at trials and on other political questions, are set before us.

§ 5. *Rome's wars with the Aequi and Volsci.*

*Horrida praecipue cui gens, adsuetaque multo
venatu nemorum, duris Aequicula glaebis.
armati terram exercent, semperque recentis
convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto.*

VERG. *Aen.* VII. 746—749.

While Rome's position on the northern frontier of Latium brought her into conflict with the Etruscans, she had other enemies on her southern borders. In 494 B.C. the Romans, Latins and Hernicans had concluded a treaty (*foedus aequum*) for mutual protection against the Aequi and Volsci, two wild tribes of Sabellian stock, who lived to the South and West of Latium. Rome waged war with these tribes for centuries, until they were finally crushed, and the historians give us a monotonous account of unsuccessful campaigns and indecisive operations against them. The warfare consisted for the most part in ravages and reprisals², and as the Romans gradually gained ground, military colonies were planted to establish their influence and hold the enemy in check. At the beginning of the period covered by the fifth book, 403 B.C., Rome was at peace

¹ Livy VI. I. 1 divides his subject into *foris bella* and *domi seditiones*.

² 28. 6.

with the Aequi and Volsci¹. This peace lasted until the year 397; for, although Anxur, a Roman settlement in the South of Latium², revolted³, Rome did not become involved with the Volscian people. The town was recovered in 401⁴. In 397 the contest was renewed; for the Aequi and Volsci, taking advantage of Rome's troubles in Etruria, again attacked Anxur and the colony of Labici⁵, apparently without success, and in 396 peace was arranged⁶. The war seems to have been favourable to Rome, and in the next year a colony was sent out to the territory of the enemy⁷. This aggression led to a fresh outbreak of hostilities in 394⁸. The Romans lost Verrugo⁹ and Vitellia¹⁰, and the war, which had no decisive consequences, was interrupted by the invasion of the Gauls.

§ 6. *The Etruscans.*

In the early years of Rome's history, that city had no more constant foe than the Etruscans. The Tiber formed the boundary between Latium and Etruria, and Rome from its commanding position on the river became, whether by accident or design, the chief outpost of the Latins on the northern frontier. Here they came into conflict with the Etruscans, a race of ancient civilization, which had already attained considerable power at the time when Rome was only one of the many petty communities included in the Latin league. The question of the origin of the Etruscan race and of its relation to other races is as yet unsolved; the language, which is

¹ I. 1 *pax alibi parata*. Livy does not mention in book IV. that a formal armistice with these peoples had been concluded.

² The place was conquered and colonized in 406, IV. 59. 7.

³ 8. 2. ⁴ 13. 1. ⁵ 16. 2. ⁶ 23. 12.

⁷ This was probably Vitellia; see n. on 24. 4.

⁸ Diod. XIV. 98; Livy does not tell us when the outbreak occurred, although he gives an account of the war, 28. 5.

⁹ This may be inferred from Livy; he says that the garrison fled, 28. 5.

¹⁰ 29. 3.

found in a number of inscriptions, has up to the present time offered insuperable difficulties to the philologist; and, in spite of numberless attempts to connect it with the other languages of Europe, no one has succeeded in determining (except to his own satisfaction) whether it belongs to the Indo-Germanic family of speech, or not. Of the history of Etruria we know little; some account of her wars with Rome is preserved by Roman historians, but her internal history is only written "in the mighty walls of her cities, on her roads, her sewers, her tunnels, but above all in her sepulchres¹." The Etruscans had settled in Italy long before Rome was founded, and had occupied not only the country which afterwards bore their name, but the district between the Alps and the Po², afterwards known as Gallia Cisalpina. We do not know which district first came into their occupation or whether they entered the peninsula by land or by sea. Livy³ states that they first settled in Etruria, but this theory, which was probably founded on the great importance of this district in the history of early Rome, is not supported by any trustworthy evidence. It is more probable that the ancestors of the Etruscan race made their way into Italy from the North⁴. Here they conquered the Umbrians, who then occupied the Cisalpine district⁵. Afterwards they spread to the south of the Apennines, and occupied Etruria, gradually advancing until their settlements between the Ciminian forest⁶ and the Tiber brought them into contact with the

¹ Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, I. p. xxvii. The greatness of the Etruscans is attested for us by the number and magnificence of their monuments and by the beauty and elaboration of their art.

² 33. 9 and 10.

³ 33. 9.

⁴ Polyb. II. 17. 2. Mommsen, *Roman History*, I. p. 128 argues against their having immigrated by sea.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* III. 19. 112. Modern excavations have shown that at some time during the bronze age the Etruscans invaded the land and overthrew the Umbrian civilization.

⁶ Mommsen, *Roman History*, I. p. 130. 'The southern boundary (of the Tuscan territory) was probably formed at first by the Ciminian Forest, and at a later period by the Tiber.'

Romans. Friendly relations are known to have existed between Rome and Caere, and Rome was indebted to Etruria, her superior in civilization and the arts, for many of her institutions¹.

The old theory that one of the Roman tribes was of Etruscan origin is now generally rejected, but it cannot be doubted that the Tarquins, the last kingly dynasty at Rome, were Etruscans. After their expulsion the Etruscans, taking advantage of the divisions within the state, brought Rome and Latium under their dominion. Their power was then at its height; trade interests and a love of piracy had caused them to create and maintain a fleet large enough to give them the ascendancy at sea². This enabled them to occupy the coasts to the south of Latium. Antium in Latium and Surrentum in Campania were their most important settlements, but they exercised sway over the Volscian district and a great part of Campania.

Their power was however too extended to be maintained, and the decline of Etruscan influence was rapid. In Latium their dominion was soon lost; in Campania they came into rivalry with the Italian Greeks and in 474 Hiero of Syracuse broke for ever their power at sea³; in the north Celtic tribes pressed in and gradually drove the Etruscans from the plain of the Po⁴. By these reverses they became confined to Etruria, and here they had to submit to the gradual advance of the Roman legions, until finally Etruscan nationality was completely merged in the Roman civilization.

¹ According to Livy the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for their methods of building (I. 56. 1), the custom of marking the *pomerium* (see n. on 52. 15), the art of the *haruspices* (15. 1) and the insignia of the magistrates (I. 8. 3).

² Hence the sea to the west of Italy bore the name of *Mare Tuscum*.

³ The victory of Hiero is celebrated by Pindar, *Pyth.* I. 72 and recorded in an inscription on a helmet found at Olympia, 'Ιάπων ὁ Δεινομένεος καὶ τοὶ Συρακόσιοι τῷ Δι Τυράν' ἀπὸ Κύμας.

⁴ See below, § 10.

§ 7. *The Constitution of Etruria.*

Etruria contained twelve autonomous cities¹, each managing its own affairs and pursuing its own policy; they recognized however that they were united by community of race and religion, and they combined therefore to form a religious federation, to which the best parallel is to be found in the Greek amphictyonies. They met yearly at the shrine of their great goddess Voltumna at Volsinii², and appointed one of their princes as the national high priest³, to have the conduct of the games and of other solemn rites.

The population of the different towns was divided into the ruling class of Lucumones, who were rich and luxurious, and their serfs, the descendants of the conquered races, who were attached to their masters by a feudal relation. The rule of the Lucumones was probably oppressive, and the subject classes doubtless regarded the Romans as deliverers⁴. As a military power the Etruscans were at a disadvantage in comparison with the Romans, from the absence of a strong military federation, from the divisions within the separate towns, but above all from the want of a vigorous peasant class, such as at that time made up the strength of the Roman infantry. The employment of mercenaries could not compensate for disadvantages such as these.

¹ Livy (33. 9) tells us that there were twelve cities in Etruria proper and twelve in the Transpadane district. Strabo v. p. 242 gives the same number to the Etruscan cities in Campania. The separate states of Etruria were called *populi* (= πόλεις), the federation *gens* (= ἔθνος); see n. on I. 4.

² I 7. 6.

³ I. 5.

⁴ Livy mentions *discordia intestina* at Veii, IV. 58. 2. We learn from VI. 4. 4 and 5. 8 that during the war so many people from Veii, Capena, and Falerii had deserted to Rome, that in 387 four new tribes were made to include them.

§ 8. *The War with Veii.*

*O Veii veteres, et vos tum regna fuistis,
et vestro posita est aurea sella foro:
nunc intra muros pastoris buccina lenti
cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.*

PROP. v. 10, 27—30.

War between Rome and Veii was normal¹; the proximity of two such powerful states², and the standing dispute between them as to the possession of the borderland³ made hostilities inevitable. The two cities recognized that the conflict of interests was permanent and did not usually conclude peace, but only suspended military operations for a time by means of an armistice. Excuses for a renewal of hostilities were never wanting; border disputes could not be avoided and any one of them might be regarded as a *casus belli*.

The final struggle between the two cities seems to have been forced on by Rome, as soon as the armistice concluded in 425 had come to an end. The pretext put forward was that the Veientes had disregarded just claims for satisfaction made by the Romans⁴. The Roman plebs were at first averse to the war⁵, but consented to it, when military pay was introduced⁶; and war was declared in 406⁷. Rome undertook the war with the intention of crushing Veii for ever, and this was the first

¹ Livy ranks the final war as the eighth (4. 13 *septies rebellarunt*; cf. iv. 32. 3). Altogether nine wars are recorded between the two states, four under the kings, five during the Republic.

² Veii was only twelve miles from Rome.

³ Probably the advance of the Etruscans to the district immediately north of the Tiber was gradual; see above p. xiv., n. 6. The Tiber was not a definite boundary between Latium and Etruria, as Rome occupied the Janiculum to the north of the river and both banks at the mouth, while the possession of Fidenae, to the south of the river, was constantly disputed.

⁴ iv. 58. *1 quia tempus indutiarum cum Veiente populo exierat, per legatos fetialisque res repeti coeptae.*

⁵ iv. 58. 9.

⁶ iv. 59. 1.

⁷ iv. 60. 9.

occasion on which Rome entered on a war of conquest outside Latium.

Veii was not eager for war. In former conflicts it was only by the support of other Etruscan states that she had been enabled to hold out against Rome: in the present war the northern states were already feeling the shock of the Celtic invasion, and the southern states were unwilling to send aid against Rome¹. Veii therefore prepared herself to stand a siege and assumed the defensive.

Although there could be little doubt about the ultimate result, Rome at first made but slow progress: the success of the Veientes in 403 induced the Capenates and Falisci to take part against Rome² and in 398 the people of Tarquinii also took up arms³. These states were near neighbours of Veii and therefore dreaded Rome's advance. A proposal for combined action on the part of all the Etruscans was made in 397 and might have been accepted, had not danger from the Gauls already become imminent⁴. From this point the true story of the siege has been supplanted by the poetical romance which grew up round the name of Camillus, and we do not know how Veii fell or by what means a contest, which at first wore so unpromising an aspect, was within a year brought to a triumphant conclusion⁵.

§ 9. *The rise of the Alban lake.*

Although we cannot place any faith in the detailed account of the siege of Veii, the story of the rise of the Alban lake,

¹ Livy (I. 3) attributes this disunion to the appointment of a king at Veii. The cause is more probably to be sought in the jealousy and discord between the states, to which we have a reference in 17. 7. This was a weakness inherent in the federation. As Mommsen (*Roman History*, I. p. 134) says, it was quite as unusual for the Etruscans really to act in concert as it was for the Latin confederacy to do otherwise. Wars were ordinarily carried on by a single community, which endeavoured to interest in its cause such of its neighbours as it could.

² 8. 4.

³ 16. 2.

⁴ 17. 8.

⁵ Arnold, *History of Rome*, I. p. 326.

miraculous as it is, is too well attested to be rejected¹. The rise was due to the obstruction of the subterranean channels by which the waters were usually carried to the sea, and this obstruction was probably caused by volcanic movements. The excessive snows of the preceding winter² may have increased the volume of water in the lake and contributed to the overflow³. Extraordinary measures were taken to prevent the inundation of the surrounding country, and the channel cut for that purpose is still in existence⁴. It is possible that the superstition of the people was excited by means of prophecies and oracles, to induce them to carry out a work involving so much labour; but other motives than those of mere superstition must have actuated the Romans.

It has been pointed out that the *ager Albanus* was occupied by a number of small farmers, whose little properties would be ruined by inundation and enriched by irrigation; and we may conclude that the object of the work was to fertilize this district⁵. It is hard to see what influence these operations can have had upon the siege of Veii, but the fall of that city seems to have occurred almost immediately after.

§ 10. *Progress of the Roman arms in Etruria.*

The fall of Veii was soon followed by the conquest or submission of the other Etruscan states at war with Rome.

¹ Besides Livy the following authors refer to the event. Cicero (*de Div.* I. 44. 100), Plutarch (*Camill.* 3), Valerius Maximus (I. 6. 3), Dionysius and Dio Cassius.

² 13. 1.

³ Cicero and other authorities tell us that the lake had actually overflowed its banks; Livy (15. 2) only says in *altitudinem insolitam crevit*.

⁴ Burn, *Rome and the Campagna*, p. 357 "The tunnel, which still carries off the superfluous waters of the lake, is more than a mile and a half in length, from seven to ten feet in height and never less than four feet in breadth."

⁵ So Cicero (*de Div.* II. 32. 69) tells us, *aqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbani*; cf. Livy, 16. 9 *aquam Albanam...emissam per agros rigabis*.

Capena was the first to make peace¹. Falerii endured a siege by the Romans for some time, but at length submitted on good terms². The people of Volsinii and Sappina invaded Roman territory in 392³, but were defeated in the next year and concluded a truce⁴. Sutrium and Nepete seem to have come under Roman dominion about the same time as Veii⁵.

The result of the war in Etruria marked a great advance for the Roman arms. Veii, which had threatened the peace and security of Rome ever since the foundation of the city, was crushed, and Roman influence on the north bank of the Tiber was extended to the natural boundary formed by the Ciminian mountains. In the pride of victory Rome met a mightier foe and her defeat by the Gauls checked for a time the further extension of her power.

§ II. *The Gauls.*

*Aurea caesaries ollis, atque aurea vestis;
virgatis lucent sagulis; tum lactea colla
auro innectuntur: duo quisque Alpina coruscant
gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.*

VERG. *Aen.* VIII. 658—662.

The cause, which had prevented the Etruscans from coming to the help of the Veientes, was the presence within their borders of the unknown and barbarous Gauls. The Gauls who conquered Rome were a branch of that tall fair-haired race, which was spread over Europe from the shores of the Atlantic to the Alps. They were at the time of the conquest of Rome in the nomadic stage of culture; they wandered from place to place, driving their flocks and herds, and, as they did not form permanent

¹ 24. 3.

² See n. on 27. 15. The story of the traitorous pedagogue, which reflects such glory on Camillus, is of a mythical character but occurs in most of the authorities.

³ 31. 5.

⁴ 32. 5.

⁵ Both towns were under Roman protection immediately after the retreat of the Gauls, VI. 3. 2 and 9. 3.

settlements and were first-rate fighting men, they were always inclined to press restlessly on in pursuit of plunder. With all their personal bravery and their love of fighting, they were restless and turbulent, averse to order and control; they lacked in fact all the political virtues, which are necessary to form a great or permanent power. Their qualities, says Mommsen¹, those of good soldiers but of bad citizens, explain the historical fact, that the Celts have shaken all states and have founded none. It was owing to the character of the invaders that the invasion of the Gauls had so little effect on the states of Italy. With the blind violence of a force of nature the Gauls swept over the land, threatening to submerge and destroy order and civilization, but as the wave subsided, the states reappeared and having repaired the ravages of the Gallic inroad, resumed their development almost as if it had never been interrupted.

According to the Roman tradition the Gauls had first entered Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about two centuries before they took Rome². A band, composed of contingents from different Gallic tribes led by Bellovesus, nephew of the king of the Bituriges, crossed the Alps and descended into Italy³. Here they settled with Mediolanium as their capital; they were followed by a second band, the Cenomani, who settled to the East of the Bituriges and founded Brixia and Verona⁴. Other Gallic tribes came in quick succession, until they drove the Etruscans entirely from the left bank of the Po, crossed the river, expelled the Umbrians and occupied the district between the Po and the Apennines⁵. The Senones, who were the last to arrive, went furthest afield and settled in the district on the east coast between Ravenna and Ancona⁶.

¹ *History*, I. p. 335. The brilliant description of the Celtic character by the same writer (*ib.* IV., p. 286) should be consulted. He refers to their 'laziness in the culture of the fields; their delight in tippling and brawling; their utter incapacity to attain to, or even to tolerate, any organisation, or any sort of fixed military or political discipline.'

² 34. 1. The date is also fixed by the legend that it was simultaneous with the founding of Massilia, 34. 8.

³ 34. 8 and 9.

⁴ 35. 1.

⁵ 35. 2.

⁶ 35. 3.

This people, finding their boundaries too narrow for them¹, or perhaps impelled by their countrymen in the north, crossed the Apennines and for the first time brought the Gallic race to the knowledge of the civilized world. The Senones thus began that long series of conflicts between the Celtic and Italic races, which caused such constant trouble to the Roman arms during the next three centuries.

§ 12. *The Conquest of Rome by the Gauls.*

*The Gaul shall come against thee
From the land of snow and night:
Thou shalt give his fair-haired armies
To the raven and the kite.*

MACAULAY.

The defeat of the Allia, which rendered the day on which it occurred accursed in the Roman calendar² and left so permanent an impression on the Romans, was unexampled in the history of their state. Never had they been defeated so easily or so disgracefully, never had defeat been followed by such terrible consequences. It was impossible for the Roman annalists to disguise altogether the fact of the defeat, but inasmuch as the account rested on tradition, it was comparatively easy for them

¹ Livy (36. 3) agrees with the other authorities, in representing the Gauls as asking for land from the Clusians. There are traces in Livy of a totally different account of the advent of the Senones. In 33. 2 he mentions that the Gauls had been brought over the Alps and led to Clusium by Arruns, an Etruscan, immediately before the attack. This account Livy rightly rejects, for although the immigration of the Gauls was gradual and the Senones were the last to arrive, Diodorus says expressly that they had been settled in Italy for some time. Livy's inconsistency in representing the Gauls as coming *ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris* (37. 2) is a mere rhetorical exaggeration.

² The *dies Alliensis*, July 18, was an *atra dies*. Livy (54. 5) attributes the disaster to the 365th year of the state, i.e. 390 B.C. The Roman Calendar was however in disorder, and according to Polybius (I. 6. 2) the disaster occurred in the same year as the peace of Antalcidas, i.e. 388—387 B.C.

to shape the details in such a way as to represent everything in the most favourable light for the Romans. Patriotic feeling has entirely overridden the instinct for historical truth, and it is only from the Greek writers, Polybius and Diodorus, that we can trace at all what was the probable course of events.

Livy, in his account of this incident, has followed the late annalists, who had falsified the story. It is impossible to dissect the legends satisfactorily—to say how much is invention and how much exaggeration: it will be sufficient to give a brief narrative of events in so far as they can be determined, pointing out the most important deviations from the truth in Livy's account. Polybius'¹ narrative gives us in a few lines the most important facts. "Some time afterwards (the Gauls) conquered the Romans and their allies in battle, and pursuing the fugitives in three days after the battle they occupied Rome with the exception of the Capitol. But they were interrupted because the Veneti invaded their land, and therefore they made terms with the Romans and having delivered up the city (after occupying it for seven months²) they returned to their own country."

This direct account is obscured by the mythical and poetical details which we find in Livy. Supernatural causes for the defeat were invented³; it was attributed to the irreligion of the generals⁴, their neglect of all precautions⁵ and to the overwhelming superiority of the Gallic forces⁶. In reality the defeat was due to none of these causes. The Romans had ample time for preparation before the battle⁷, they marched out not only with their own forces but also with those of their allies⁸, and in

¹ II. 18. 2 and 3.

² II. 22. 5.

³ See n. on 36. 6.

⁴ 38. 1.

⁵ 37. 3; 38. 1.

⁶ 38. 3.

⁷ The Romans must have known that war was imminent, as soon as they had rejected the demands of the Gallic envoys. They must have had time to prepare, as Diodorus (XIV. 114) tells us that the Gauls waited for reinforcements.

⁸ Polybius, l. c., talks of *τοὺς μετὰ τούτων παραταξαμένους*. Diodorus, l. c., says there was a general levy, and Livy's own narrative of the defenceless state of Rome after the battle, implies that all the Roman forces had been called out.

numbers they probably did not fall far short of the Gauls. The real explanation of the defeat is to be sought in the panic caused in the Roman army by the strange appearance of the barbarians and their unwonted method of fighting¹, and in the skill of the Gallic general.

The Romans made no real resistance, but fled at once. The right wing was driven from the hills on to the left wing which was drawn up near the river. The enemy practically cut off the retreat on the left bank of the Tiber, and this was the reason why so many of the fugitives made their way to Veii². The Gauls could not be induced to leave the battle-field at once, but on the third day after the battle they reached Rome³. The Romans thus had time to make their preparations; the men of military age had already occupied the Capitol, the defenceless population had for the most part sought refuge in the neighbouring cities⁴, while some eighty senators and other old men had resolved to meet their death, and to save Rome, if possible, by the voluntary sacrifice of their lives⁵.

The Gauls on entering Rome began at once the work of destruction, but their attack on the Capitol was repulsed⁶, and they were compelled to undertake siege operations, a work for which they were entirely unfitted. The siege dragged on, and as month after month went by, the barbarians began to suffer

¹ This is obvious from all the accounts of the battle. Cf. 35. 4; 37. 8.

² 38. 5. The Gauls had attacked the right wing on the flank, and hurled it on to the left wing, driving the Romans towards the Tiber. Mommsen, *Römische Forschungen*, II. p. 313 inclines to the opinion that the battle was fought on the right bank of the Tiber, but Livy's description of the battle-field 37. 7 is too explicit to be rejected.

³ Polybius I. c., and Diodorus XIV. 115 both say it was three days after the battle. Livy's statement (39. 2) that it was on the next day is a mistake.

⁴ Livy (42. 4) seems to be wrong in representing the women and children, as falling into the hands of the Gauls. He tells us (40. 4) that some of the women had sought refuge in the Capitol, and all would have had time to leave the doomed city.

⁵ See n. on 41. 3.

⁶ 43. 2.

from famine and disease¹. Meanwhile the Roman fugitives had gathered at Veii, and had been organized by Caedicius². Communications with Rome were established by the daring venture of Pontius Cominius³, which led to the attempted surprise of the Capitol by the Gauls, foiled by the watchfulness of the sacred geese and the exploit of Manlius. But the besieged were suffering direr straits than the besiegers; there was no hope of the siege being raised, and they were glad enough to make terms⁴. The Gauls were probably not averse to giving up an unprofitable siege, but the actual cause of their departure was the news that their settlements in north Italy were attacked by the Veneti⁵. They covenanted to leave Rome for a ransom of gold, a metal which possibly now first became known to them⁶, and they marched away taking their booty with them⁷.

Rome then was ransomed from the barbarians, and in the most trustworthy account there is not a word of Camillus appearing, like Achilles, to deliver his countrymen who had treated him with such base ingratitude. The story related by Livy that Camillus prevented the ransom, and exterminated the Gauls in two engagements⁸, is a worthless invention, which is even more disgraceful to the Romans than their defeat on the Allia and the capture of their city. The inter-

¹ 48. 1.

² 45. 7.

³ Diodorus XIV. 117 says that Pontius was sent to let the Romans on the Capitol know of the forces gathering at Veii. His account says nothing of Camillus.

⁴ 48. 6 and 7.

⁵ Polybius II. 18. 3.

⁶ This inference is drawn from the fact that the word for gold in the Celtic languages (old Irish *ór*, Cymric *aur*) is evidently borrowed from the Latin *aurum*.

⁷ Polyb. II. 22. 5 ἄθραστοι καὶ ἀσιμῆς ἔχοντες τὴν ὠφέλειαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπανήλθον.

⁸ 49. 5 and 6. That the story is a late and worthless invention is established, not only by the account of Polybius, but by the discrepancies and inconsistencies of those writers who do attribute the delivery of Rome to Camillus.

ference of Camillus is, in fact, an interpolation made by the later annalists from patriotic motives, and doubtless rendered easy by the tendency to exaggeration which characterized the family memorials of the Roman aristocracy.

§ 13. *Home politics.*

The period of Roman history with which the fifth book of Livy is concerned, marks an uneventful stage in the struggle between patricians and plebeians. No question of principle either social or political was decided. The attention of the nation was centred on the two great contests with the Etruscans and the Gauls, and, as is usually the case, patriotic feeling to a large extent overrode political differences, and the national danger checked the ardour for political reform. At the same time much of Livy's narrative is devoted to a discussion of the problems of home politics and it is worth while to consider what the objects of contention were.

The main political question had been compromised for the time by a law passed in 445¹. By this law the formal right of the plebeians to offer themselves for the highest military office had been recognized, but the concession had as yet been without result, for no plebeian had been elected. We need not suppose that all this time the patricians had commanded a majority in the Comitia; the strength of the plebeians at this date may be inferred from their predominance on several occasions between the years 400 and 396 B.C. when they carried the greater number of the candidates, and their absolute exclusion from this office hitherto must therefore be attributed to other causes.

The patricians yielded their privileges grudgingly, and, although they had made a formal concession to plebeian claims, they had kept in their own hands such large powers of controlling the elections that the concession for the time brought no advantage to the plebeians. In the first place the senate

¹ IV. 6. 8 *Per haec consilia eo deducta est res, ut tribunos militum consulari potestate promiscue ex patribus ac plebe creari sinerent.*

decided year by year whether consuls or military tribunes should be elected. If they felt sure of their position they arranged for the appointment of consuls¹ and in that event only patricians were qualified. If, on the other hand, political motives or military necessities required the appointment of military tribunes, the presiding officer, who was naturally a patrician², had, whether independently or subject to the sanction of the senate³, the option of refusing to accept votes for plebeian candidates or even of refusing to return plebeians, if they obtained a majority of votes. We can discern traces of patrician intrigues in elections in several passages of Livy's narrative.

On the other hand the plebeians were not without a means of defence. By this date the tribunes had established their power of checking the administration by the exercise of the veto. By refusing supplies⁴ or by preventing the elections from being held⁵ they could produce a deadlock, which would ultimately compel the patricians to make some concession. On many occasions this political conflict resulted in an *interregnum*. When all the patrician magistrates had left office, before their successors were appointed, the senate⁶ nominated an *interrex* to hold the election; his powers lapsed after five days, and if the election, owing to the veto of the tribunes or to other causes,

¹ Consuls were appointed in 393 (29. 2) and 392 (31. 2).

² The elections took place *auspicato* and only patricians could take the auspices.

³ Elections in the *Comitia Centuriata* were (until the *Lex Maenia* was passed in 338) subject to the *patrum auctoritas*. If this were denied to any candidate the presiding magistrate could refuse to receive votes for him or to return his name, even after he had received a majority of votes. The meaning of *patres* in this connection is disputed; it is most probable that it denotes the senate.

⁴ The veto on the collection of the *tributum* or on the levy was a favourite device of the tribunes; cf. 12. 3; 16. 5.

⁵ 17. 5 *comitia interpellantibus tribunis plebis*.

⁶ In case of an *interregnum* the appointment of the *interrex* lay with the *patres* (*auspicia ad patres redeunt*); it is probable that the *patres* in this case (as in that of the *patrum auctoritas*) denoted the senate.

had not been concluded within that term, he appointed a successor, the second *interrex* appointed a third, and the process was continued until the election had been held¹.

Livy tells us that in the year 400 the first plebeian military tribune was elected. Party feeling had been excited by an attempt on the part of the patricians to tamper with the plebeian tribunate² and by the prosecution of two military tribunes³; the plebeian leaders had proposed a land law and, when that was resisted, had vetoed the raising of the war tax⁴. The struggle had led to a compromise⁵; plebeians were allowed to stand, and carried a majority of the candidates⁶. The

¹ Examples of the *interregnum* being so continued are recorded in 17. 5; 31. 8. The abdication of magistrates and the appointment of *interreges* influenced the date of election. From the year 444 consuls and military tribunes entered office on the Ides of December (9. 3). By the abdication of the tribunes in 402 the Kalends of October became the regular day (9. 8). In 397 there was an *interregnum* (17. 5), which probably caused another change, and in 391 after the abdication of the consuls the Kalends of July was fixed as the date (32. 1). The day on which the magistrates entered office (*dies sollemnis*, 9. 3) marked the beginning of the official year; it was always on the Kalends or the Ides, but the month varied at different epochs.

² In former times, when it happened that the full number of plebeian tribunes was not elected by the people, the rest were appointed by cooptation. This had been forbidden by the *Lex Trebonia* in 448, but on this occasion the law was overridden (10. 11).

³ The prosecution had been undertaken by three of the plebeian tribunes and the trial had been made a party question (11. 4; 12. 1).

⁴ 12. 3.

⁵ We do not know the exact circumstances, but Livy's reference to the *tempestiva de concordia oratio* of Licinius (12. 12) points to a compromise.

⁶ Livy (12. 9) says that only one plebeian was elected, but judging by the names of the magistrates at least four were plebeian. His mistake probably arose from the fact that Licinius was probably described in the Fasti as *primus ex plebe*, a title usually given to any plebeian who was the first to hold a particular office. Livy himself applies this description to Licinius in 18. 5; VI. 37. 8.

feeling of union was not disturbed for some time and in the next year five plebeians were elected¹.

At the next election (398 B.C.) the patricians made a great effort to recover lost ground: a reaction of feeling had set in; the patricians brought forward their strongest candidates, appealed to the superstition of the people, and with the advantages of wealth and birth and the successful employment of intrigue managed to carry their six candidates². The election of 397 had a similar result³. In view of the next election the patricians induced the magistrates to abdicate on a religious pretext, and appointed an interrex, hoping to control the election. By this time the plebeians had recovered their strength and the tribunes put a veto on the election, until a compromise was arranged⁴ by which five plebeians secured election⁵. These events show that the plebeians were a match for the patricians, and it is therefore strange to find that in the next six years (395—390) patricians were always elected and on two occasions consuls were appointed.

§ 14. *The question of the public land.*

The agrarian question was rather in the background during this period. We hear of a *lex agraria* being proposed in 401⁶ but we do not learn whether it was passed. In 395 a colony was sent to the Volscian territory, and in all probability plebeians were allowed to share in the distribution of land which took place in connection with it⁷.

The conquest of Veii largely increased the extent of the public land, and the plebeian leaders probably made great efforts to get both orders admitted to share in the division. The proposal to migrate to Veii⁸ has obscured the political struggle, which must have taken place on this question, but Livy refers to the city and lands of Veii as forming part of the booty⁹, and the

¹ 13. 3.

² 14. 5.

³ 16. 1.

⁴ 17. 5.

⁵ 18. 2.

⁶ 12. 3.

⁷ The distribution took place *viritim*; 24. 4.

⁸ 24. 7.

⁹ 25. 6. Camillus complained that the gods had not had their tithe of the city and land of Veii.

grant of seven *iugera* to all freemen was probably the price paid to the plebeians for the rejection of the proposal¹. The renewal of this proposal after the departure of the Gauls, if it was ever made², was based on entirely different grounds.

§ 15. *Livy's treatment of political questions.*

Livy's uncritical method and his reliance on inferior authorities renders his treatment of the political struggles of the early Republic very unsatisfactory. He failed to understand the development of the constitution, he lacked a proper appreciation of political questions and his judgment was not entirely impartial.

The annalists, whom he followed, had not been able to realize that the political conditions of the earlier years of Rome were essentially different from those of their own age. Their account of the struggle between patricians and plebeians, as we see it at second hand in Livy's narrative, was coloured throughout by the ideas of a later epoch. The plebeians, who in numbers and importance were probably not inferior to the patricians and who formed the main strength of the legions, appeared in the works of the annalists, as a hungry proletariat, weak and oppressed. No distinction is drawn between the rich and the poor members of the order, although this distinction was a ruling factor in the political situation; the agitation of the plebeians for admission to the higher offices of state and to a share in the public land was represented as almost treasonable, and the conduct of the tribunes in asserting the rights of the plebeians is constantly described as seditious³.

Livy accepted this representation the more readily as it was

¹ 30. 7 and 8.

² Mommsen, *Forschungen*, II. p. 333 says 'the supposed proposal of a migration to Veii is certainly a later addition to the narrative.'

³ 10. 6; 24. 4; 25. 11 *integrant seditionem tribuni plebis*. The tribunes are accused of disturbing the concord of the state for selfish motives 3. 5; 9. 4; 29. 1.

in accord with his own political sympathies. As a Pompeian¹ he had an antipathy to the rule of the mob in all ages, and his admiration for the old Roman patrician of the type of Cincinnatus or Fabricius biassed his judgment in favour of the patricians. At the same time we must acquit him of all conscious partiality, and admit that he does not withhold his censure from the patricians when he thinks it deserved.

A favourite method of representing character and of bringing the political issue before his readers Livy found in the speeches which he puts into the mouth of the chief actors in the political drama. For these he must have had even less material than for other parts of his work, and we may therefore regard them as Livy's own version of what might or should have been said. They have no claim to historical truth and are not adapted to the particular times at which they were supposed to have been delivered; moreover they show more exaggeration and invective than political insight or conclusive argument, but they are vivid and effective as a means of representing characters and situations².

§ 16. *Livy as an artist.*

Although Livy is open to unfavourable criticism from the standpoint of historical truth, his deficiencies should not blind us to his real greatness as an artist. He took a poetical view of history³; the purpose with which he wrote⁴ and the audience to

¹ Tac. *Ann.* iv. 34 *T. Livius Gnaeum Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum offecit.* Augustus, who posed as the peacemaker between parties and who claimed to have restored the republic, would doubtless have had no objection to a history written from the senatorial standpoint.

² Quint. x. i. 101 *ita quae dicuntur omnia cum rebus tum personis accommodata sunt.*

³ Mommsen, *Forschungen*, i. p. 290. "A certain attitude may be recognised (in Livy's work) but it is not the historical attitude, which follows up causes and effects, but the poetical, which needs an uninterrupted narrative and above all things protagonists to represent parties."

⁴ See above § 3.

which he appealed¹ determined the character of his work. His narrative is full of life and colour²; his style, which was to a great extent his own creation, is rich and dramatic, and has been described by one of our most brilliant scholars³ as "the greatest prose style that has ever been written in any age or country."

¹ Historical depth was never popular with the Romans.

² Livy's description of the sack of Rome by the Gauls (ch. 42) is a good example of his narrative power; the speech of Camillus (ch. 51-4) with its mingled pathos and indignation is an effective piece of rhetoric.

³ Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, p. 230. Quintilian x. 1. 101 praises his *mira incunditas clarissimusque candor*.

TITI LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER V.

[I—VII. B.C. 403. *Siege of Veii. Dispute in Rome about the Winter Campaigns.*]

PACE alibi parta Romani Veiique in armis erant tanta 1
ira odioque, ut victis finem adesse appareret. Election at
comitia utriusque populi longe diversa ratione Rome 403 B.C.
facta sunt. Romani auxere tribunorum militum consulari 2
5 potestate numerum; octo, quot numquam antea, creati,
M. Aemilius Mamercus iterum, L. Valerius Potitus tertium,
Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Iulius Iulus,
M. Postumius, M. Furius Camillus, M. Postumius Albinus.
Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitionis, quae
10 interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem crea- The people of 3
vere. offendit ea res populorum Etruria animos Veii appoint a
king.
non maiore odio regni quam ipsius regis. gravis iam is 4
antea genti fuerat opibus superbiaque, quia sollemnia ludo-
rum, quos intermittere nefas est, violenter diremisset, cum ob 5
15 iram repulsae, quod suffragio duodecim populorum alius
sacerdos ei praelatus esset, artifices, quorum magna pars
ipsius servi erant, ex medio ludicro repente abduxit. gens 6
itaque ante omnis alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod

[I—VII. B.C. 403. *Siege of Veii. Dispute in Rome about the Winter Campaigns.*]

sit quies, arma deponentem. hoc neque reges, neque ante 8
tribuniciam potestatem creatam superbos illos consules,
neque triste dictatoris inperium, neque inportunos decem-
viros iniunxisse servitutis, ut perennem militiam facerent,
5 quod tribuni militum in plebe Romana regnum exercerent.
quidnam illi consules dictatoresve facturi essent, qui pro 9
consularem imaginem tam saevam ac trucem fecerint? sed
id accidere haud inmerito. non fuisse ne in octo quidem
tribunis militum locum ulli plebeio. antea trina loca cum 10
10 contentione summa patricios explere solitos, nunc iam
octoiuges ad inperia obtinenda ire, et ne in turba quidem
haerere plebeium quemquam, qui, si nihil aliud, admoneat 11
conlegas liberos et civis eorum, non servos militare, quos 12
hieme saltem in domos ac tecta reduci oporteat et aliquo
15 tempore anni parentis liberosque ac coniuges invisere et
usurpare libertatem et creare magistratus. haec taliaque 13
vociferantes adversarium haud inparem nacti sunt Ap.
Claudium, relictum a conlegis ad tribunicias
seditiones conprimendas, virum inbutum iam
20 ab iuventa certaminibus plebeis, quem auctorem
aliquot annis ante fuisse memoratum est per conlegarum
intercessionem tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae.

Speech of Ap-
pius Claudius
against the tri-
bunes.

Is tum iam non promptus ingenio tantum sed usu etiam 3
exercitatus talem orationem habuit: 'si umquam dubitatum 2
25 est, Quirites, utrum tribuni plebis vestra an sua
causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id
ego hoc anno desisse dubitari certum habeo;
et cum laetor tandem longi erroris vobis finem
factum esse, tum, quod secundis potissimum vestris rebus
30 hic error est sublatus, et vobis et propter vos rei publicae
gratulor. an est quisquam, qui dubitet nullis iniuriis 4

The tribunes
are pursuing their
own ends at the
expense of the
state.

[I—VII. B.C. 403. *Siege of Veii. Dispute in Rome about the Winter Campaigns.*]

vestris, si quae forte aliquando fuerunt, umquam aequae
 quam munere patrum in plebem, cum aera militanti-
 bus constituta sunt, tribunos plebis offensos ac concitados esse?
 5 quid illos aliud aut tum timuisse creditis aut hodie turbare
 velle nisi concordiam ordinum, quam dissolvendae maxime
 6 tribuniciae potestatis rentur esse? sic hercule tamquam
 artifices inprobi opus quaerunt; quippe semper aegri aliquid
 esse in re publica volunt, ut sit, ad cuius curationem a vobis
 7 adhibeantur. utrum enim defenditis an inpugnatis plebem?
 utrum militantium adversarii estis an causam agitis? nisi 10
 forte hoc dicitis: 'quicquid patres faciunt, displicet, sive
 8 illud pro plebe sive contra plebem est', et quem ad modum
 cum servis suis vetant domini quicquam rei alienis homini-
 bus esse pariterque in eis beneficio ac maleficio abstineri
 aequum censent, sic vos interdicitis patribus commercio 15
 plebis, ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostra provocemus
 plebem, nec plebs nobis dicto audiens atque oboediens sit.
 9 quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis non dico civilis, sed
 humani esset, favere vos magis et, quantum in vobis esset,
 indulgere potius comitati patrum atque obsequio plebis 20
 10 oportuit? quae si perpetua concordia sit, quis non spondere
 ausit maximum hoc inperium inter finitimos brevi futurum
 4 esse? atque ego, quam hoc consilium collegarum meorum,
 quod abducere infecta re a Veis exercitum noluerunt, non
 utile solum sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea 25
 disseram; nunc de ipsa condicione dicere mili-
 tantium libet. quam orationem non apud vos
 solum, sed etiam in castris si habeatur, ipso
 exercitu disceptante aequam arbitror videri posse. in qua,
 si mihi ipsi nihil, quod dicerem, in mentem venire posset, 30
 3 adversariorum certe orationibus contentus essem. negabant

The introduc-
 tion of pay has
 removed the only
 2 grievance of the
 soldiers.

[I—VII. B.C. 403. *Siege of Veii. Dispute in Rome about the Winter Campaigns.*]

nuper danda esse aera militibus, quia numquam data essent. quonam modo igitur nunc indignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adiectum commodi sit, eis laborem etiam novum pro portione iniungi? nusquam nec opera sine emolumento 4
 5 neque emolumentum ferme sine inpena opera est. labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se naturali sunt iuncta. moleste antea ferebat miles se suo 5
 sumptu operam rei publicae praebere; gaudebat idem partem anni se agrum suum colere, quaerere, unde domi
 10 militiaeque se ac suos tueri posset; gaudet nunc fructui 6
 sibi rem publicam esse et laetus stipendium accipit; aequo igitur animo patiatur se ab domo ac re familiari, cui gravis inpena non est, paulo diutius abesse. an, si ad calculos 7
 eum res publica vocet, non merito dicat: ‘annua aera habes,
 15 annuam operam ede; an tu aequum censes militia semenstri solidum te stipendium accipere?’ invitus in hac parte 8
 orationis, Quirites, moror; sic enim agere debent, qui mercenario milite utuntur; nos tamquam cum civibus agere volumus agique tamquam cum patria nobiscum aequum
 20 censemus. aut non suscipi bellum oportuit
 aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani et perfici quam primum oportet. perficietur autem, si
 9 It would be a
 disgrace to abandon the war after
 what we have
 suffered. 10
 urgemus obsessos, si non anteabscedimus, quam
 spei nostrae finem captis Veis inposuerimus. si hercules
 25 nulla alia causa, ipsa indignitas perseverantiam inponere debuit. decem quondam annos urbs oppugnata est ob 11
 unam mulierem ab universa Graecia quam procul ab domo?
 quot terras, quot maria distans? nos intra vicesimum 12
 lapidem in conspectu prope urbis nostrae annuam oppugna-
 30 tionem perferre piget! scilicet quia levis causa belli est, nec
 satis quicquam iusti doloris est, quod nos ad perseveran-

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13 dum stimulet. septies rebellarunt; in pace numquam fida
fuerunt; agros nostros milies depopulati sunt; Fidenatis
14 deficere a nobis coegerunt; colonos nostros ibi interfecerunt;
auctores fuere contra ius caedis inopiae legatorum nostrorum;
Etruriam omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt hodieque 5
id moliantur; res repetentis legatos nostros haud procul
5 afit quin violarent. cum his molliter et per dilationes
To abandon bellum geri oportet? si nos tam iustum odium
operations would
be wasteful and nihil movet, ne illa quidem, oro vos, movent?
2 dangerous. operibus ingentibus saepa urbs est, quibus 10
intra muros coercetur hostis; agrum non coluit, et culta
3 evastata sunt bello; si reducimus exercitum, quis est, qui
dubitet illos non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi sed etiam
necessitate inposita ex alieno praedandi, cum sua amiserint,
agrum nostrum invasuros? non differimus igitur bellum isto 15
4 consilio, sed intra finis nostros accipimus. quid? illud, quod
proprie ad milites pertinet, quibus boni tribuni plebis olim
stipendium extorquere voluerunt, nunc consultum repente
5 volunt, quale est? vallum fossamque, ingentis utramque
rem operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt; castella primo 20
pauca, postea exercitu aucto creberrima fecerunt; munitiones
non in urbem modo sed in Etruriam etiam spectantis, si
6 qua inde auxilia veniant, opposuere; quid turris, quid
vineas testudinesque et alium oppugnandarum urbium
apparatum loquar? cum tantum laboris exhaustum sit et 25
ad finem iam operis tandem perventum, relinquendane haec
censetis, ut ad aestatem rursus novus de integro his in-
7 stituendis exsudetur labor? quanto est minus opera tueri
facta et instare ac perseverare defungique cura? brevis
enim profecto res est, si uno tenore peragitur, nec ipsi per 30
intermissiones has intervallaque lentiores spem nostram

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facimus. loquor de operae et de temporis iactura; quid? 8
 periculi, quod differendo bello adimus, num oblivisci nos
 haec tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Veios
 auxiliis patiuntur? ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, oderunt, 9
 5 negant missuros; quantum in illis est, capere Veios licet.
 quis est, qui spondeat eundem, si differtur bellum, animum
 postea fore, cum, si laxamentum dederis, maior frequentior- 10
 que legatio itura sit, cum id, quod nunc offendit Etruscos,
 rex creatus Veis, mutari spatio interposito possit vel consensu
 10 civitatis, ut eo reconcilient Etruriae animos, vel ipsius volun-
 tate regis, qui ob stare regnum suum saluti civium nolit?
 videte, quot res, quam inutiles sequantur illam viam con- 11
 sili, iactura operum tanto labore factorum, vastatio inminens
 finium nostrorum, Etruscum bellum pro Veiente concitatum.
 15 haec sunt, tribuni, consilia vestra, non hercule dissimilia ac 12
 si quis aegro, qui curari se fortiter passus extemplo conva-
 lescere possit, cibi gratia praesentis aut potionis longinquum
 et forsitan insanabilem morbum efficiat. si, me dius fidius, 6
 ad hoc bellum nihil pertineret, ad disciplinam
 20 certe militiae plurimum intererat insuescere
 militem nostrum non solum parta victoria frui,
 sed, si etiam res lentior sit, pati taedium
 et quamvis serae spei exitum expectare et, si non sit aestate
 perfectum bellum, hiemem opperiri nec, sicut aestivas avis,
 25 statim autumnio tecta ac recessus circumspicere. obsecro 3
 vos: venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac
 pruinas in montis silvasque rapit; belli necessitatibus eam
 patientiam non adhibebimus, quam vel lusus ac voluptas
 elicere solet? adeone effeminata corpora militum nostrorum 4
 30 esse putamus, adeo mollis animos, ut hiemem unam durare
 in castris, abesse ab domo non possint? ut tamquam navale

We must perse-
 vere for the sake
 of military dis-
 cipline and of
 our reputation.

2

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bellum tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni
 5 gerant, non aestus, non frigora pati possint? erubescant
 profecto, si quis eis haec obiciat, contendantque et animis
 et corporibus suis virilem patientiam inesse, et se iuxta
 hieme atque aestate bella gerere posse nec se patrocinium 5
 mollitiae inertiaeque mandasse tribunis et meminisse hanc
 ipsam potestatem non in umbra nec in tectis maiores suos
 6 creasse. haec virtute militum vestrorum, haec Romano
 nomine sunt digna, non Veios tantum nec hoc bellum
 intueri, quod instat, sed famam et ad alia bella et ad ceteros 10
 7 populos in posterum quaerere. an mediocre discrimen
 opinionis secuturum ex hac re putatis, utrum tandem
 finitimi populum Romanum eum esse putent, cuius si qua
 urbs primum illum brevissimi temporis sustinuerit inpetum,
 8 nihil deinde timeat, an hic sit terror nominis nostri, ut 15
 exercitum Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugna-
 tionis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsessa semel amovere
 possit, nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit
 nec inpetu potius bella quam perseverantia
 9 Veii will be *gerat?* quae in omni quidem genere militiae, 20
 conquered unless
 our soldiers be-
 come seditious
 and insubordi-
 nate. *est,* quarum plerasque munitionibus ac naturali
 situ inexpugnabilis fame sitique tempus ipsum
 10 vincit atque expugnat, sicut Veios expugnabit, nisi auxilio
 hostibus tribuni plebis fuerint, et Romae invenerint prae- 25
 11 sidia Veientes, quae nequiquam in Etruria quaerunt. an
 est quicquam, quod Veientibus optatum aequae contingere
 possit, quam ut seditionibus primum urbs Romana, deinde
 12 velut ex contagione castra inpleantur? at hercule apud
 hostis tanta modestia est, ut non obsidionis taedio, non 30
 denique regni quicquam apud eos novatum sit, non negata

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auxilia ab Etruscis inritaverint animos; morietur enim 13
extemplo, quicumque erit seditionis auctor, nec cuiquam
dicere ea licebit, quae apud vos inpune dicuntur. fustuarium 14
meretur, qui signa relinquit aut praesidio decedit; auctores
5 signa relinquendi et deserendi castra non uni aut alteri
militi sed universis exercitibus palam in contione audi-
untur; adeo quicquid tribunus plebi loquitur, etsi prodendae 15
patriae dissolvendaeque rei publicae est, adsuētis aequi
audire et dulcedine potestatis eius capti quaelubet sub ea
10 scelera latere sinitis. reliquum est, ut, quae hic vociferantur, 16
eadem in castris et apud milites agant et exercitus corrup-
pant ducibusque parere non patiantur, quoniam ea demum 17
Romae libertas est, non senatum, non magistratus, non
leges, non mores maiorum, non instituta patrum, non
15 disciplinam vereri militiae.'

Par iam etiam in contionibus erat Appius tribunis 7
plebis, cum subito, unde minime quis crederet, A disaster at
accepta calamitas apud Veios et superiorem Veii induces the
Appium in causa et concordiam ordinum Romans to u-
20 maiorem ardoremque ad obsidendos pertina- nite and prose-
cute the siege.
cuis Veios fecit. nam cum agger promotus ad urbem vineae- 2
que tantum non iam iniunctae moenibus essent, dum opera
interdium fiunt intentius quam nocte custodiuntur, patefacta
repente porta ingens multitudo, facibus maxime armata,
25 ignis coniecit, horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, 3
tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit; multique ibi
mortales nequiquam opem ferentes ferro ignique absumpti
sunt. quod ubi Romam est nuntiatum, maestitiam om- 4
nibus, senatui curam metumque iniecit, ne tum vero sus-
30 tineri nec in urbe seditio nec in castris posset, et tribuni
plebis velut ab se victae rei publicae insultarent, cum 5

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repente, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant
 adsignati, concilio prius inter sese habito senatum adeunt
 factaque dicendi potestate equis se suis stipendia facturos
 6 promittunt. quibus cum amplissimis verbis gratiae ab
 senatu actae essent, famaue ea forum atque urbem per- 5
 7 vasisset, subito ad curiam concursus fit plebis; pedestris
 ordinis aiunt nunc esse operam rei publicae extra ordinem
 polliceri, seu Veios, seu quo alio ducere velint. si
 Veios ducti sint, negant se inde prius quam capta urbe
 8 hostium redituros esse. tum vero iam superfundenti se 10
 laetitiae vix temperatum est; non enim, sicut equites, dato
 9 magistratibus negotio laudari iussi, neque aut in curiam
 vocati, quibus responsum daretur, aut limine curiae contine-
 batur senatus, sed pro se quisque ex superiore loco ad
 multitudinem in comitio stantem voce manibusque significare 15
 10 publicam laetitiam, beatam urbem Romanam et invictam et
 aeternam illa concordia dicere, laudare equites, laudare
 plebem, diem ipsum laudibus ferre, victam esse fateri comi-
 11 tatem benignitatemque senatus. certatim patribus plebeique
 manare gaudio lacrimae; deinde revocatis in curiam patribus 20
 12 senatus consultum factum est, ut tribuni militares contione
 advocata equitibus peditibusque gratias agerent, memorem
 pietatis eorum erga patriam dicerent senatum fore; placere
 autem, omnibus his voluntariam extra ordinem professis
 militiam aera procedere; et equiti certus numerus aeris est 25
 13 adsignatus. tum primum equis suis merere equites coepe-
 runt. voluntarius ductus exercitus Veios non amissa modo
 restituit opera sed nova etiam instituit. ab urbe commeatus
 intentiore quam antea subvehi cura, ne quid tam bene
 merito exercitui ad usum deesset.

[VIII—XVIII. B.C. 402—396. *War with the Etruscans and with the Volsci. Elections and political disputes in Rome.*]

Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate 8
 habuit C. Servilium Aham tertium, Q. Servilium, L. Verginium, Q. Sulpicium, A. Manlium
 iterum, M. Sergium iterum. his tribunis, dum
 5 cura omnium in Veiens bellum intenta est, Loss of Anxur.
The people of Capena and Falerii
attack the Roman camp.
 neglectum Anxuri praesidium vacationibus militum et
 Volscos mercatores vulgo receptando proditis repente
 portarum custodibus oppressum est. minus militum periit, 3
 quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros
 10 vicinasque urbis negotiabantur. nec Veis melius gesta res, 4
 § quod tum caput omnium curarum publicarum erat; nam et
 duces Romani plus inter se irarum quam adversus hostis
 animi habuerunt, et auctum est bellum adventu repentino
 Capenatium atque Faliscorum. hi duo Etruriae populi, 5
 § 15 ~~quia proximi regione erant, devictis Veis bello quoque~~
 Romano se proximos fore credentes, Falisci propria etiam 6
 causa infesti, quod Fidenati bello se iam antea inmiscuerant,
 § ~~per legatos ultro citroque missos iure iurando inter se~~
~~obligati cum exercitibus necopinato ad Veios accessere.~~
 20 forte ea regione, qua M. Sergius tribunus militum praeerat, 7
 castra adorti sunt ingentemque terrorem intulere, quia
 Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magna mole adesse
 Romani crediderant. eadem opinio Veientis in urbe con-
 citavit. ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur; 8
 25 ~~concurrentesque cum huc atque illuc signa transferrent, nec~~
 Veientem satis cohibere intra munitiones nec suis munimen-
 tis arcere vim ac tueri se ab exteriori poterant hoste. una 9
 spes erat, si ex maioribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae
 legiones aliae adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra
 30 eruptionem oppidanorum pugnarent; sed castris praeerat
 Verginius privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. is, cum 10

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pleraque castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrumque
 invehi hostem nuntiaretur, in armis milites tenuit, si opus
 11 foret auxilio, conlegam dictitans ad se missurum. huius
 adrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat, qui, ne quam
 12 opem ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste quam
 vincere per civem maluit. diu in medio caesi milites;
 postremo desertis munitionibus perpauci in maiora castra,
 pars maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. ubi
 cum omnem culpam in conlegam inclinaret, acciri Verginium
 13 ex castris, interea praeesse legatos placuit. acta deinde in
 senatu res est, certatumque inter conlegas maledictis.
 pauci rei publicae, huic atque illi, ut quosque studium
 privatim aut gratia occupaverat, adsunt.

9 Primores patrum, sive culpa sive infelicitate inperatorum
 tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset, censuere
 15 non expectandum iustum tempus comitiorum,
 sed extemplo novos tribunos militum creandos
 esse, qui kalendis Octobribus magistratum oc-
 2 ciperent. in quam sententiam cum pedibus iretur, ceteri tri-
 3 buni militum nihil contradicere; at enimvero Sergius Vergini-
 20 usque, propter quos paenitere magistratum eius anni senatum
 apparebat, primo deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere
 senatus consulto, negare se ante idus Decembris, sollemnem
 4 ineundis magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse. inter
 haec tribuni plebis, cum in concordia hominum secundisque
 25 rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces repente
 minari tribunis militum, nisi in auctoritate senatus essent, se
 5 in vincula eos duci iussuros esse. tum C. Servilius Ahala
 tribunus militum: 'quod ad vos attinet, tribuni plebis,
 minasque vestras, ne ego libenter experirer, quam non
 30 plus in eis iuris quam in vobis animi esset; sed nefas est

The military
 tribunes abdicate
 before the end of
 their year of
 office.

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tendere adversus auctoritatem senatus. proinde et vos 6
desinite inter nostra certamina locum iniuriae quaerere, et
conlegae aut facient, quod censet senatus, aut, si pertinacius
tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam, qui eos abire magis-
5 tratu cogat.' cum omnium adsensu conprobata oratio esset, 7
gauderentque patres sine tribuniciae potestatis terriculis
inventam esse aliam vim maiorem ad coercendos magistra-
tus, victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum 8
habuere, qui kal. Octobribus magistratum occiperent, seque
10 ante eam diem magistratu abdicavere.

L. Valerio Potito quartum, M. Furio Camillo iterum, 10
M. Aemilio Mamercō tertium, Cn. Cornelio
Cosso iterum, K. Fabio Ambusto, L. Iulio Levy at Rome.
Discontent of the
plebs.
Iulo tribunis militum consulari potestate multa
15 domi militiaeque gesta. nam et bellum multiplex fuit 2
eodem tempore, ad Veios et ad Capenam et ad Falerios et in
Volscis, ut Anxur ab hostibus recuperaretur, et Romae simul 3
dilectu simul tributo conferendo laboratum est, et de tribunis
plebi cooptandis contentio fuit, et haud parvum motum duo
20 iudicia eorum, qui paulo ante consulari potestate fuerant,
excivere. omnium primum tribunis militum fuit dilectum 4
haberi, nec iuniores modo conscripti, sed seniores etiam
coacti nomina dare, ut urbis custodiam agerent. quantum 5
autem augebatur militum, numerus, tanto maiore pecunia in
25 stipendium opus erat; eaque tributo conficiebatur invitis
conferentibus qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem
opera quoque militari laborandum serviendumque rei pub-
licae erat. haec, per se gravia, indigniora ut viderentur, 6
tribuni plebis seditiosis contionibus faciebant ideo aera
30 militibus constituta esse arguendo, ut plebis partem militia,
partem tributo conficerent. unum bellum annum iam 7

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tertium trahi et consulto male geri, ut diutius gerant. in
 quattuor deinde bella uno dilectu exercitus scriptos, et
 8 pueros quoque ac senes extractos. iam non aestatis nec
 hiemis discrimen esse, ne ulla quies umquam miserae plebi
 sit; quae nunc etiam vectigalis ad ultimum facta sit, ut cum
 9 confecta labore, vulneribus, postremo aetate corpora rettulerint
 incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio domi
 invenerint, tributum ex adfecta re familiari pendant aera-
 que militaria velut faenore accepta multiplicia rei publicae
 reddant.

10

10 Inter dilectum tributumque et occupatos animos maiorum

Dispute about
 the election of
 tribunes of the
 plebs.

rerum curis comitiis tribunorum plebis numerus
 expleri nequii. pugnatum est inde, in loca

11 vacua ut patricii cooptarentur. postquam
 obtineri non poterat, tamen labefactandae legis Treboniae

15

causa effectum est, ut cooptarentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius

11 et M. Acutius haud dubie patriciorum opibus. fors ita tulit,

ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn. Trebonius esset, cui nomini
 ac familiae debitum praestare videretur Treboniae legis patro-

2 cinium. is, quod petissent patres quondam, primo incepto

repulsi, tandem tribunos militum expugnasse vociferans,
 legem Treboniam sublatam et cooptatos tribunos plebis non

suffragiis populi, sed inperio patriciorum; eo revolvi rem,
 ut aut patricii aut patriciorum adseculae habendi tribuni

3 plebis sint; eripi sacratas leges, extorqueri tribuniciam

potestatem; id fraude patriciorum, scelere ac proditione
 4 conlegarum factum arguere. cum arderent invidia non

Trial of Ser-
 gius and Vergin-
 ius.

patres modo sed etiam tribuni plebis, cooptati
 pariter et qui cooptaverant, tum ex collegio tres

P. Curatius, M. Metilius, M. Minucius, trepidi

rerum suarum, in Sergium Verginiumque, prioris anni tribunos

30

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militaris, incurrunt; in eos ab se iram plebis invidiam-
 que die dicta avertunt. quibus dilectus, quibus tributum, 5
 quibus diutina militia longinquitasque belli sit gravis, qui
 clade accepta ad Veios doleant, qui amissis liberis fratribus
 5 propinquis adfinibus lugubris domos habeant, eis publici
 privatique doloris exsequendi ius potestatemque ex duobus
 noxiis capitibus datam ab se memorant. omnium namque 6
 malorum in Sergio Verginioque causas esse; nec id ac-
 cusatores magis arguere quam fateri reos, qui noxii ambo
 10 alter in alterum causam conferant, fugam Sergi Verginius,
 Sergius proditionem increpans Vergini. quorum adeo 7
 incredibilem amentiam fuisse, ut multo veri similis sit
 conpecto eam rem et communi fraude patriciorum actam.
 ab his et prius datum locum Veientibus ad incendenda 8
 15 opera belli trahendi causa, et nunc proditum exercitum,
 tradita Faliscis Romana castra. omnia fieri, ut consenescat 9
 ad Veios iuventus, nec de agris nec de aliis commodis
 plebis ferre ad populum tribuni frequentiaque urbana cele-
 brare actiones et resistere conspirationi patriciorum possint.
 20 praeiudicium iam de reis et ab senatu et ab populo Romano 10
 et ab ipsorum conlegis factum esse; nam et senatus consulto 11
 eos ab re publica remotos esse, et recusantis abdicare se
 magistratu dictatoris metu ac conlegis coercitos esse, et
 populum Romanum tribunos creasse, qui non idibus De-
 25 cembribus, die sollemni, sed extemplo kalendis Octobribus
 magistratum occiperent, quia stare diutius res publica his
 manentibus in magistratu non posset; et tamen eos tot 12
 iudiciis confossos praedamnatosque venire ad populi iudi-
 cium et existimare, defunctos se esse satisque poenarum
 30 dedisse, quod duobus mensibus citius privati facti sint,
 neque intellegere nocendi sibi diutius tum potestatem 13

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- ereptam esse, non poenam inrogatam; quippe et conlegis
 14 abrogatum imperium, qui certe nihil deliquissent. illos
 repeterent animos Quirites, quos recenti clade accepta
 habuissent, cum fuga trepidum, plenum vulnorum ac
 pavoris incidentem portis exercitum viderint non fortunam 5
 15 aut quemquam deorum, sed hos duces accusantem. pro
 certo se habere neminem in contione stare, qui illo die non
 caput, domum fortunasque L. Vergini ac M. Sergi sit
 16 execratus detestatusque. minime convenire, quibus iratos
 quisque deos precatus sit, in eis sua potestate, cum liceat 10
 et oporteat, non uti. numquam deos ipsos admovere no-
 centibus manus; satis esse, si occasione ulciscendi laesos
 12 arment. his orationibus incitata plebs denis milibus
 aeris gravis reos condemnat, nequiquam Sergio Martem
 communem belli fortunamque accusante, Verginio depre- 15
 2 cante, ne infelicior domi quam militiae esset. in hos
 versa ira populi cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque
 contra legem Treboniam factae memoriam obscuram
 fecit.
- 3 Victores tribuni, ut praesentem mercedem iudici plebes 20
 Progress of the haberet, legem agrariam promulgant tributum-
 war. que conferri prohibent, cum tot exercitibus
 4 stipendio opus esset, resque militia ita prospere gererentur,
 ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei. namque Veis
 castra, quae amissa erant, recuperata castellis praesidiisque 25
 firmabantur; praeerant tribuni militum M. Aemilius et K.
 5 Fabius. a M. Furio in Faliscis et a Cn. Cornelio in Ca-
 penati agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi; praedae actae
 incendiisque villarum ac frugum vastati fines; oppida nec
 6 oppugnata nec obsessa sunt. at in Volscis depopulato agro 30
 Anxur nequiquam oppugnatum loco alto situm et, postquam

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vis inrita erat, vallo fossaque obsideri coeptum. Valerio Potito Volsci provincia evenerat.

Hoc statu militarium rerum seditio intestina maiore 7
 mole coorta, quam bella tractabantur ; et cum
 5 tributum conferri per tribunos non posset, nec Election of the first plebeian military tribune. stipendium inperatoribus mitteretur, aeraque
 militaria flagitaret miles, haud procul erat quin castra
 quoque urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur. inter 8
 has iras plebis in patres cum tribuni plebi nunc illud tempus
 10 esse dicerent stabiliendae libertatis et ab Sergiis Verginiis-
 que ad plebeios viros fortis ac strenuos transferendi summi
 honoris, non tamen ultra processum est, quam ut unus ex 9
 plebe, usurpandi iuris causa, P. Licinius Calvus tribunus
 militum consulari potestate crearetur ; ceteri patricii creati, 10
 15 P. Manlius, L. Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Furius Medullinus,
 L. Publilius Volscus. ipsa plebes mirabatur se tantam rem 11
 obtinuisse, non is modo, qui creatus erat, vir nullis ante
 honoribus usus, vetus tantum senator et aetate iam gravis.
 nec satis constat, cur primus ac potissimus ad novum 12
 20 delibandum honorem sit habitus ; alii Cn. Corneli fratris,
 qui tribunus militum priore anno fuerat triplexque stipen-
 dium equitibus dederat, gratia extractum ad tantum honorem
 credunt ; alii orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia
 ordinum patribus plebique gratam habuisse. hac victoria 13
 25 comitiorum exsultantes tribuni plebis, quod maxime rem
 publicam inpediebat, de tributo remiserunt. conlatum oboe-
 dienter missumque ad exercitum est.

Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est neglectis die festo 13
 custodiis urbis. Insignis annus hieme gelida Plague in Rome. Introduction of Lectister-nium.
 30 ac nivosa fuit, adeo ut viae clausae, Tiberis
 innavigabilis fuerit. annona ex ante convecta

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- 2 copia nihil mutavit. et quia P. Licinius, ut ceperat haud
tumultuose magistratum maiore gaudio plebis quam indigna-
tione patrum, ita etiam gessit, dulcedo invasit proximis
3 comitiis tribunorum militum plebeios creandi. unus M.
Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit; plebeios alios 5
tribunos militum consulari potestate omnes fere centuriae
dixere, M. Pomponium, Cn. Duillium, Voleronem Publilium,
4 Cn. Genucium, L. Atilium. tristem hiemem, sive ex in-
temperie caeli raptim mutatione in contrarium facta, sive
alia qua de causa gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus 10
5 aestas excepit. cuius insanabili pernicie quando nec causa
nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatus consulto
6 aditi sunt. duumviri sacris faciundis lectisternio tunc primum
in urbe Romana facto, per dies octo Apollinem Latonamque,
Herculem et Dianam, Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus 15
quam amplissime tum adparari poterat stratis lectis plac-
7 vere. privatim quoque id sacrum celebratum est. tota
urbe patentibus ianuis promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in
propatulo posito notos ignotosque passim advenas in hos-
pitium ductos ferunt, et cum inimicis quoque benigne ac 20
comiter sermones habitos, iurgiis ac litibus temperatum;
8 vinctis quoque dempta in eos dies vincula; religioni deinde
fuisse, quibus eam opem dei tulissent, vinciri.
- 9 Interim ad Veios terror multiplex fuit tribus in unum
bellis conlatis. namque eodem, quo antea, 25
Success of the
Romans before
Veii. modo circa munimenta, cum repente Capenates
Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tris ex-
10 ercitus ancipiti proelio pugnatum est. ante omnia adiuvit
memoria damnationis Sergi ac Vergini. itaque e maioribus
castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circum- 30
ductae copiae Capenatis in vallum Romanum versos ab

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tergo adgrediuntur; inde pugna coepta et Faliscis intulit 11
terrorem, trepidantisque eruptio ex castris opportune facta
avertit. repulsos deinde insecuti victores ingentem ediderunt
caedem. nec ita multo post iam palatis, velut tuti forent, 12
5 oblati populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae ab-
sumpsere. et Veientium refugientes in urbem multi ante 13
portas caesi, dum prae metu, ne simul Romanus inrumperet,
obiectis foribus extremos suorum excludere.

Haec eo anno acta. et iam comitia tribunorum militum 14
10 aderant, quorum prope maior patribus quam
belli cura erat, quippe non communicatum Contest at the
Election of 398
B.C.
modo cum plebe, sed prope amissum cernenti-
bus summum inperium. itaque clarissimis viris ex conpo- 2
sito praeparatis ad petendum, quos praetereundi verecundiam
15 crederent fore, nihilo minus ipsi, perinde ac si omnes
candidati essent, cuncta experientes non homines modo sed
deos etiam exciebant, in religionem vertentes comitia biennio
habita: priore anno intolerandam hiemem prodigiisque 3
divinis similem coortam, proximo non prodigia, sed iam
20 eventus: pestilentiam agris ubique inlatam haud dubia ira
deum, quos pestis eius arcendae causa placandos esse in 4
libris fatalibus inventum sit; comitiis, auspicato quae fierent,
indignum dis visum honores vulgari discriminaque gentium
confundi. praeterquam maiestate petentium, religione etiam 5
25 attoniti homines patricos omnis, partem magnam honoratis-
simum quemque, tribunos militum consulari potestate crea-
vere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum, M. Valerium Maximum,
M. Furium Camillum iterum, L. Furium Medullinum tertium,
Q. Servilium Fidenatem iterum, Q. Sulpicium Camerinum
30 iterum. his tribunis ad Veios nihil admodum memorabile 6
actum est; tota vis in populationibus fuit. duo summi inpera- 7

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tores, Potitus a Faleriis, Camillus a Capena praedas ingentis egere nulla incolumi relictæ re, cui ferro aut igni noceri posset.

- 15 Prodigia interim multa nuntiari, quorum pleraque et,
Rise of the Alban lake. quia singuli auctores erant, parum credita
 2 spreteque, et quia hostibus Etruscis, per quos
 2 ea procurarent, haruspices non erant; in unum omnium
 curae versae sunt, quod lacus in Albano nemore sine ullis
 caelestibus aquis causave qua alia, quae rem miraculo
 3 eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. quidnam eo di
 portenderent prodigio, missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphi- 10
 4 cum oraculum; sed propior interpretis fati oblati senior
 quidam Veiens, qui inter cavillantibus in stationibus ac custo-
 diis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantibus in modum
 cecinit, priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret, num-
 5 quam potiturum Veis Romanum. quod primo velut temere 15
 iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus coeptum est, donec
 unus ex statione Romana percunctatus proximum oppida-
 norum, iam per longinquitatem belli commercio sermonum
 facto, quisnam is esset, qui per ambages de lacu Albano
 6 iaceret, postquam audivit haruspicem esse, vir haud intacti 20
 religione animi, causatus de privati portenti procuratione, si
 operae illi esset, consulere velle, ad colloquium vatem
 7 elicuit. cumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent in-
 ermes sine ullo metu, praevalens iuvenis Romanus senem
 infirmum in conspectu omnium raptum nequiquam tumultu- 25
 8 antibus Etruscis ad suos transtulit. qui cum perductus ad
 inperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, scisci-
 tantibus, quidnam id esset, quod de lacu Albano docuisset,
 9 respondit profecto iratos deos Veienti populo illo fuisse die,
 quo sibi eam mentem obiecissent, ut excidium patriae fatale 30
 10 proderet. itaque, quae tum cecinerit divino spiritu instinctus,

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ea se nec, ut indicta sint, revocare posse, et tacendo
forsitan, quae di immortales vulgari velint, haud minus quam
celanda effando nefas contrahi. sic igitur libris fatalibus, 11
sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, si quando aqua
5 Albana abundasset, tum, si eam Romanus rite emisisset,
victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat, deos moenia
Veientium deserturos non esse. exsequebatur inde, quae 12
sollemnis derivatio esset. sed auctorem levem nec satis
fidum super tanta re patres rati decrevere legatos sortisque
10 oraculi Pythici exspectandas.

Priusquam a Delphis oratores redirent Albanive prodigii 16
piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni militum con- War with the
sulari potestate L. Iulius Iulus, L. Furius Etruscans.
Medullinus quartum, L. Sergius Fidenas, A. Postumius
15 Regillensis, P. Cornelius Maluginensis, A. Manlius magis-
tratum inierunt. eo anno Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. 2
quia multis simul bellis, Volscorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium
obsidebatur, Aequorum ad Labicos, qui Romanam ibi colo-
niam oppugnabant, ad hoc Veientique et Falisco et Capenati
20 bello occupatos videbant Romanos nec intra muros quietiora
negotia esse certaminibus patrum ac plebis, inter haec 3
locum iniuriae rati esse, praedatum in agrum Romanum
cohortis expeditas mittunt: aut enim passuros inultam eam
iniuriam Romanos, ne novo bello se onerarent, aut exiguo
25 eoque parum valido exercitu persecuturos. Romanis in- 4
dignitas maior quam cura populationis Tarquiniensium fuit;
eo nec magno conatu suscepta nec in longum dilata res est.
A. Postumius et L. Iulius non iusto dilectu, etenim ab 5
tribunis plebis inpediebantur, sed prope voluntariorum,
30 quos adhortando incitaverant, coacta manu per agrum
Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi redeuntis a popula-

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- 6 tionibus gravisque praeda Tarquiniensis oppressere. multos
 mortalis obruncant, omnis exuunt impedimentis et receptis
 7 agrorum suorum spoliis Romam revertuntur. biduum ad
 recognoscendas res datum dominis; tertio incognita (erant
 autem ea pleraque hostium ipsorum) sub hasta veniere, 5
 quodque inde redactum, militibus est divisum.
- 8 Cetera bella maximeque Veiens incerti exitus erant;
 iamque Romani desperata ope humana fata et
 Answer of the Delphic Oracle. deos spectabant, cum legati ab Delphis venerunt
 sortem oraculi adferentes congruentem responso captivi 10
 9 vatis: 'Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave
 in mare manare suo flumine sinas; emissam per agros
 10 rigabis dissipatamque rivis extingues; tum tu insiste audax
 hostium muris, memor, quam per tot annos obsides urbem,
 ex ea tibi his, quae nunc panduntur, fatis victoriam datam. 15
 11 bello perfecto donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato
 sacraque patria, quorum omissa cura est, instaurata, ut
 17 adsolet, facito.' ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus,
 eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque
 ad prodigi Albani procurationem ac deos rite placandos 20
 2 coepere; inventumque tandem est, ubi neglectas caerimonias
 intermissumve sollemne di arguerent, nihil profecto aliud
 esse quam magistratus vitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in
 3 Albano monte non rite concepisse. unam expiationem
 eorum esse, ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, 25
 auspicia de integro repeterentur et interregnum iniretur.
 4 ea ita facta sunt ex senatus consulto. interreges tres dein-
 ceptus fuere L. Valerius, Q. Servilius Fidenas, M. Furius
 5 Camillus. numquam desitum interim turbari, comitia inter-
 pellantibus tribunis plebis, donec convenisset prius, ut maior 30
 pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur.

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- Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae 6
habita, postulantibusque Capenatibus ac Falis-
cis, ut Veios communi animo consilioque om-
nes Etruriae populi ex obsidione eriperent, re-
Meeting of Etruscans at Volturni. 7
- 5 sponsum est antea se id Veientibus negasse, quia, unde con-
siliu[m] non petissent super tanta re, auxilium petere non de-
berent; nunc iam pro se fortunam suam illis negare. maxima 8
in parte Etruriae gentem invisitatam, novos accolae Gallos
esse, cum quibus nec pax satis fida nec bellum pro certo
10 sit. sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus periculis 9
consanguineorum id dari, ut, si qui iuventutis suae voluntate
ad id bellum eant, non inpediant. eum magnum advenisse 10
hostium numerum fama Romae erat; eoque mitescere dis-
cordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coepere.
- 15 Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium Calvum praerogativae 18
tribunum militum non petentem creant, mode- Election of mi-
rationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, litary tribunes.
ceterum iam tum exactae aetatis; omnisque War in Etruria
deinceps ex conlegio eiusdem anni refici apparebat, L. continued. 2
- 20 Titinium, P. Maenium, Q. Manlium, Cn. Genucium, L.
Atilium. qui priusquam renunciarentur iure vocatis tribubus,
permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit: ‘omen 3
concordiae, Quirites, rei maxime in hoc tempus utili, memo-
ria nostri magistratus vos his comitiis petere in insequentem
25 annum video; sed conlegas eosdem reficitis, etiam usu 4
meliores factos, me iam non eundem, sed umbram nomen-
que P. Licini relictum videtis. vires corporis adfectae,
sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, memoria labat,
vigor animi obtunsus. en vobis’, inquit, iuvenem filium 5
30 tenens, ‘effigiem atque imaginem eius, quem vos antea
tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. hunc ego

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institutum disciplina mea vicarium pro me rei publicae do
 dicoque vosque quaeso, Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem
 huic petenti meisque pro eo adiectis precibus mandetis.’
 6 datum id petenti patri, filiusque eius P. Licinius tribunus mili-
 tum consulari potestate cum eis, quos suprascripsimus, declara- 5
 7 tus. Titinius Genuciusque tribuni militum profecti adversus
 Faliscos Capenatisque, dum bellum maiore animo gerunt
 8 quam consilio, praecipitavere in insidias. Genucius morte
 honesta temeritatem luens ante signa inter primores cecidit;
 Titinius in editum tumulum ex multa trepidatione militibus 10
 conlectis aciem restituit nec se tamen aequo loco hosti
 9 commisit. plus ignominiae erat quam cladis acceptum,
 quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum inde terroris
 non Romae modo, quo multiplex fama pervenerat, sed in
 10 castris quoque fuit ad Veios. aegre ibi miles retentus a 15
 fuga est, cum pervasisset castra rumor ducibus exercituque
 caeso victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etruriaequae omnem
 11 iuventutem haud procul inde abesse. his tumultuosiora
 Romae, iam castra ad Veios oppugnari, iam partem hostium
 tendere ad urbem agmine infesto, crediderant; concursum- 20
 que in muros est, et matronarum, quas ex domo conciverat
 12 publicus pavor, obsecrationes in templis factae, precibusque
 ab dis petitum, ut exitium ab urbis tectis templisque ac
 moenibus Romanis arcerent Veiosque eum averterent terro-
 rem, si sacra renovata rite, si procurata prodigia essent. 25

[XIX—XXIII. B.C. 396. *Conquest of Veii.*]

19 Iam ludi Latinaequae instauratae erant, iam ex lacu
 Camillus is ap- Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiosque fata
 2 pointed dictator adpetebant. igitur fatalis dux ad excidium
 and proceeds to illius urbis servandaeque patriae M. Furius
 Veii.

[XIX—XXIII. B.C. 396. *Conquest of Veii.*]

Camillus dictator dictus magistrum equitum P. Cornelium Scipionem dixit. omnia repente mutaverat inperator mu- 3
 tatus; alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque
 alia urbis videri. omnium primum in eos, qui a Veis in 4
 5 illo pavore fugerant, more militari animadvertit effecitque,
 ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset. deinde indicto
 dilectu in diem certam ipse interim Veios ad confirmandos
 militum animos intercurrit; inde Romam ad scribendum 5
 novum exercitum redit nullo detractante militiam. peregrina
 10 etiam iuventus, Latini Hernicique, operam suam pollicentes
 ad id bellum venire; quibus cum gratias in senatu egisset 6
 dictator, satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis ludos
 magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veis captis se facturum
 aedemque Matutae matris refectam dedicaturum, iam ante
 15 ab rege Servio Tullio dedicatam. profectus cum exercitu 7
 ab urbe exspectatione hominum maiore quam spe in agro pri-
 mum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus signa confert.
 omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut 8
 fit, secuta est. non proelio tantum fudit hostis sed castris
 20 quoque exuit ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius pars
 maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum militi
 datum. inde ad Veios exercitus ductus, densioraque castella 9
 facta, et a procursationibus, quae multae temere inter murum
 ac vallum fiebant, edicto, ne quis iniussu pugnaret, ad opus
 25 milites traducti. operum fuit omnium longe maximum ac 10
 laboriosissimum cuniculus in arcem hostium agi coeptus.
 quod ne intermitteretur opus, neu sub terra continuus labor 11
 eosdem conficeret, in partis sex munitorum numerum divisit;
 senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt; nocte ac die
 30 numquam ante omissum, quam in arcem viam facerent.

Dictator cum iam in manibus videret victoriam esse, 20
 urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore,

[XIX—XXIII. B.C. 396. *Conquest of Veii.*]

quantum non omnibus in unum conlatis ante bellis fuisset,
 2 Discussion at ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate
 Rome as to the disposal of the praedae partitae aut invidiam apud patres ex
 spoils at Veii. prodiga largitione caperet, litteras ad sena-
 3 tum misit: deum immortalium benignitate, suis consiliis, 5
 patientia militum Veios iam fore in potestate populi Romani;
 4 quid de praeda faciendum censerent? duae senatum distine-
 bant sententiae, senis P. Licini, quem primum dixisse a filio
 interrogatum ferunt, edici palam placere populo, ut, qui
 5 particeps esse praedae vellet, in castra Veios iret; altera 10
 Ap. Claudii, qui largitionem novam, prodigam, inaequalem,
 inconsultam arguens, si semel nefas ducerent captam ex
 hostibus in aerario exhausto bellis pecuniam esse, auctor
 erat stipendi ex ea pecunia militi numerandi, ut eo minus
 6 tributi plebes conferret; eius enim doni societatem sensuras 15
 aequaliter omnium domos, non avidas in direptiones manus
 otiosorum urbanorum praerepturas fortium bellatorum prae-
 mia esse, cum ita ferme eveniat, ut segnior sit praedator,
 ut quisque laboris periculique praecipuam petere partem
 7 soleat. [Licinius contra suspectam et invisam semper eam 20
 pecuniam fore aiebat causasque criminum ad plebem, sedi-
 8 tionum inde ac legum novarum praebituram; satius igitur
 esse reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque
 exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri, et sentire praedae
 fructum ex eo bello, in quo prope consenuerint. gratius id 25
 fore laetiusque, quod quisque sua manu ex hoste captum
 domum rettulerit, quam si multiplex alterius arbitrio acci-
 9 piat. ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex eo criminaque;
 eo delegasse ad senatum; senatum quoque debere reiectam
 rem ad se permittere plebi ac pati habere, quod cuique fors 30
 10 belli dederit. haec tutior visa sententia est, quae popu-
 larem senatum faceret. edictum itaque est, ad praedam

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Veientem, quibus videretur, in castra ad dictatorem profisciscerentur.]

Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. tum dictator **21**
 auspicato egressus, cum edixisset, ut arma Final attack
 5 milites caperent, 'tuo ductu' inquit, 'Pythice on Veii. **2**
 Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem
 Veios tibi hinc decimam partem praedae voveo. te simul, **3**
 Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores
 in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te
 10 dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat.' haec precatus **4**
 superante multitudine ab omnibus locis urbem adgreditur,
 quo minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset.
 Veientes ignari se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis **5**
 proditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios
 15 votis ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedis
 spectare, seque ultimum illum diem agere, nihil minus **6**
 timentes quam subrutis cuniculo moenibus arcem iam
 plenam hostium esse, in muros pro se quisque armati
 discurrunt mirantes, quidnam id esset, quod, cum tot per **7**
 20 dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum velut
 repentino icti furore inprovidi currerent ad muros.

Insertitur huic loco fabula: inmolante rege Veientium **8**
 vocem haruspiciis dicentis, qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset,
 ei victoriam dari, exauditam in cuniculo movisse Romanos
 25 milites, ut adaperto cuniculo exta raperent et ad dictatorem
 ferrent. sed in rebus tam antiquis si, quae similia veris **9**
 sint, pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam; haec ad ostenta-
 tionem scaenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam ad fidem
 neque adfirmare neque refellere operae pretium est.

30 Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus in aedem **10**
 Iunonis, quae in Veientana arce erat, armatos Conquest of
 repente edidit, et pars aversos in muris invadunt Veii.

[XIX—XXIII. B.C. 396. *Conquest of Veii.*]

- hostis, pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars, cum ex tectis
 saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac servitiis iacerentur, inferunt
 11 ignis. clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus
 12 mixto mulierum ac puerorum ploratu conplet. momento
 temporis deiectis ex muro undique armatis patefactisque por- 5
 tis cum alii agmine iruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros,
 13 urbs hostibus inpletur; omnibus locis pugnatur; deinde multa
 iam edita caede senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere
 iubet, ut ab inermi abstinence. is finis sanguinis fuit.
 14 dedi inde inermes coepti, et ad praedam miles permissu 10
 dictatoris discurrit. quae cum ante oculos eius aliquantum
 spe atque opinione maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur,
 15 dicitur manus ad caelum tollens precatus esse, ut, si cui
 deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populiue Romani
 videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo 15
 privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret.
 16 convertentem se inter hanc venerationem traditur memoriae
 prolapsus cecidisse; idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu
 rem coniectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli,
 captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod post paucos accidit 20
 17 annos, cladem. atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione
 22 urbis opulentissimae est consumptus; postero die libera
 corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. ea sola pecunia in
 publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis; et quod rettulere
 secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad senatum, malignitatis 25
 2 auctores quaerendo, rem arbitri sui reiecisset, nec senatui,
 sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius ad senatum rettulisset,
 pater tam popularis sententiae auctor fuisset,
 3 The statue of Juno is removed to Rome. acceptum referebant. cum iam humanae opes
 egestae a Veis essent, amoliri tum deum dona 30
 ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo,
 4 coepere. namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes pure

[XIX—XXIII. B.C. 396. *Conquest of Veii.*]

lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam
regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere,
primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more 5
Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos adtrectare non esset
5 solitus. dein cum quidam seu spiritu divino tactus seu
iuvenali ioco 'visne Romam ire, Iuno?' dixisset, adnuisse
ceteri deam conclamaverunt. inde fabulae adiectum est 6
vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede
sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus
10 levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse integramque in Aventinum,
aeternam sedem suam, quo vota Romani dictatoris vocave- 7
rant, perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem, qui voverat,
Camillus dedicavit. hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opu- 8
lentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima
15 clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas
circumsessa, cum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam
accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente operibus
tamen, non vi expugnata est.

Romam ut nuntiatum est Veios captos, quamquam et 23
20 prodigia procurata fuerant et vatum responsa
et Pythicae sortes notae, et, quantum huma-
nis adiuvari consiliis potuerat res, ducem M.
Furium maximum inperatorum omnium lege-
rant, tamen, quia tot annis varie ibi bellatum erat multaeque 2
25 clades acceptae, velut ex insperato inmensum gaudium fuit,
et priusquam senatus decerneret, plena omnia templa Ro- 3
manarum matrum grates dis agentium erant. senatus in
quadriduum, quot dierum nullo ante bello, supplicationes
decernit. adventus quoque dictatoris omnibus ordinibus 4
30 obviam effusis celebratior quam ullius umquam antea fuit,
triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius mo-
dum aliquantum excessit. maxime conspectus ipse est 5

Triumph of Camillus. A tithe of the booty is dedicated to Apollo.

[XIX—XXIII. B.C. 396. *Conquest of Veii.*]

curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus; parumque id non
 6 civile modo sed humanum etiam visum. Iovis Solisque
 equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam trahe-
 bant, triumphusque ob eam unam maxime rem clarior
 7 quam gravior fuit. tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aventino 5
 locavit dedicavitque Matutae matris; atque his divinis
 8 humanisque rebus gestis dictatura se abdicavit. agi deinde
 de Apollinis dono coeptum. cui se decumam vovisse prae-
 dae partem cum diceret Camillus, pontifices solvendum
 9 religione populum censerent, haud facile inibatur ratio 10
 iubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex ea pars debita in
 10 sacrum secerneretur. tandem eo, quod lenissimum videba-
 tur, decursum est, ut, qui se domumque religione exsolvere
 vellet, cum sibimet ipse praedam aestimasset suam, decumae
 11 pretium partis in publicum deferret, ut ex eo donum aureum, 15
 dignum amplitudine templi ac numine dei, ex dignitate populi
 Romani fieret. ea quoque conlatio plebis animos a Camillo
 12 alienavit. inter haec pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis
 venerunt, inpetrataque pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello
 adquiesceret civitas, quam quod digni peterent. 20

[XXIV—XXXIII. B.C. 395—391. *War with the Etruscans and the Aequi. Political disputes at Rome.*]

24 Veis captis sex tribunos militum consulari potestate
 insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios, Cossum et
 Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum,
 Peace conclud-
 ed with Capena. K. Fabium Ambustum iterum, L. Furium
 2 Medullinum quintum, Q. Servilium tertium. Corneliis 25
 Faliscum bellum, Valerio ac Servilio Capenas sorti evenit.
 ab eis non urbes vi aut operibus temptatae, sed ager est
 depopulatus praedaeque rerum agrestium actae; nulla felix
 3 arbor, nihil frugiferum in agro relictum. ea clades Capena-

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tem populum subegit; pax petentibus data; in Faliscis bellum restabat.

Romae interim multiplex seditio erat, cuius leniendae 4
 causa coloniam in Volscos, quo tria milia civium
 5 Romanorum scriberentur, deducendam cen- Proposal for a
migration to Veii.
 suerant, triumvirique ad id creati terna iugera et septunces
 viritim diviserant. ea largitio sperni coepta, quia spei 5
 maioris avertendae solacium obiectum censebant: cur enim
 relegari plebem in Volscos, cum pulcherrima urbs Vei ager-
 10 que Veientanus in conspectu sit, uberior ampliorque Romano
 agro? urbem quoque urbi Romae vel situ vel magnificentia 6
 publicorum privatorumque tectorum ac locorum praepon-
 ebant. quin illa quoque actio movebatur, quae post captam 7
 utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit, transmigrandi Veios.
 15 ceterum partem plebis, partem senatus destinabant ad habi- 8
 tandos Veios duasque urbis communis rei publicae incoli
 a populo Romano posse. adversus quae cum optimates ita 9
 tenderent, ut morituros se citius dicerent in conspectu populi
 Romani, quam quicquam earum rerum rogaretur; quippe 10
 20 nunc in una urbe tantum dissensionum esse; quid in duabus
 urbibus fore? victamne ut quisquam victrici patriae prae-
 ferret sineretque maiorem fortunam captis esse Veis, quam
 incolumibus fuerit? postremo se relinqui a civibus in 11
 patria posse; ut relinquunt patriam atque civis, nullam
 25 vim umquam subacturam, et T. Sicinium, is enim ex
 tribunis plebis rogationis eius lator erat, conditorem
 Veios sequantur relicto deo Romulo, dei filio, parente et
 auctore urbis Romae: haec cum foedis cer-
 taminibus agerentur, nam partem tribunorum 25
Opposition of
the patricians,
Gift to Apollo.
 30 plebi patres in suam sententiam traxerant,
 nulla res alia manibus temperare plebem cogebat, quam 2

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quod, ubi rixae committendae causa clamor ortus esset, principes senatus primi turbae offerentes se peti feririque
 3 atque occidi iuebant. ab horum aetatibus dignitatibusque
 et honoribus violandis tum abstinebatur, et ad reliquos
 4 similis conatus verecundia irae obstabat. Camillus identi- 5
 dem omnibus locis contionabundus: haud mirum id quidem
 esse furere civitatem, quae damnata voti omnium rerum
 5 potioem curam quam religione se exsolvendi habeat. nihil
 de conlatione dicere stipis verius quam decumae, quando
 ea se quisque privatim obligaverit, liberatus sit populus. 10
 6 enimvero illud se tacere suam conscientiam non pati, quod
 ex ea tantum praeda, quae rerum moventium sit, decuma
 designetur, urbis atque agri capti, quae et ipsa voto con-
 7 tineantur, mentionem nullam fieri. cum ea disceptatio,
 anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito 15
 Camillo visum conlegio, quod eius ante conceptum votum
 Veientium fuisset et post votum in potestatem populi
 Romani venisset, eius partem decumam Apollini sacram
 8 esse. ita in aestimationem urbs agerque venit. pecunia
 ex aerario prompta et tribunis militum consularibus, ut 20
 aurum ex ea coemerent, negotium datum. cuius cum copia
 non esset, matronae coetibus ad eam rem consultandam
 habitis communi decreto pollicitae tribunis militum aurum,
 9 omnia ornamenta sua in aerarium detulerunt. grata ea
 res ut quae maxime senatui umquam fuit; honoremque ob 25
 eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum, ut pilento ad
 10 sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur. pon-
 dere ab singulis auri accepto aestimatoque, ut pecuniae
 solverentur, crateram auream fieri placuit, quae donum
 Apollini Delphos portaretur.

30

11 Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, integrant sedi-

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tionem tribuni plebis; incitatur multitudo in omnis principes, ante alios in Camillum: eum praedam Veientanam 12 publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegissee. absentis ferociter increpant; praesentium, cum se ultro iratis offerrent, verecundiam habent. simul extrahi rem ex eo anno 13 viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum eosdem reficiunt; et patres hoc idem de intercessoribus legis adnisi. ita tribuni plebis magna ex parte eidem refecti. comitiis 26 tribunorum militum patres summa ope evicerunt, ut M. 10 Furius Camillus crearetur. propter bella simul War with Falabant parari ducem; sed largitioni tribuniciae Ierii. adversarius quaerebatur. cum Camillo creati tribuni militum 2 consulari potestate L. Furius Medullinus sextum, C. Aemilius, L. Valerius Publicola, Sp. Postumius, P. Cornelius 15 iterum. principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt, donec 3 M. Furius Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum mandatum erat, proficisceretur. differendo deinde elanguit res, et Camillo, quem adversarium maxime metuerant, gloria in Faliscis crevit. nam cum primo moenibus se hostes tene- 4 rent, tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque incendiis villarum coegit eos egredi urbe. sed timor longius 5 progredi prohibuit; mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant, nulla re alia fidentes ea satis tuta esse quam difficultate aditus asperis confragosisque circa et partim artis 25 partim arduis viis. ceterum Camillus captivum indidem 6 ex agris secutus ducem castris multa nocte motis prima luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. triarii Romani 7 muniebant, alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat. ibi impedire opus conatos hostis fundit fugatque; tantumque 30 inde pavoris Faliscis iniectum est, ut effusa fuga castra sua, quae propiora erant, praelati urbem peterent. multi caesi 8

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vulneratique, priusquam paventes portis inciderent. castra
 capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum magna militum
 ira; sed severitate inperi victi eandem virtutem et oderant
 9 et mirabantur. obsidio inde urbis et munitiones, et inter-
 dum per occasionem inpetus oppidanorum in Romanas 5
 stationes proeliaque parva fieri, et teri tempus neutro
 inclinata spe, cum frumentum copiaque aliae ex ante
 convecto largius obsessis quam obsidentibus suppeterent.
 10 videbaturque aequae diuturnus futurus labor ac Veis fuisset,
 ni fortuna inperatori Romano simul et cognitae rebus 10
 bellicis virtutis specimen et maturam victoriam dedisset.

27 Mos erat Faliscis eodem magistro liberorum et comite
 uti, simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quoque
 Story of Ca- in Graecia manet, unius curae demanda-
 millus and the schoolmaster. bantur. principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui 15
 2 scientia videbatur praecellere, erudiebat. is cum in pace
 instituisset pueros ante urbem lusus exercendique causa
 producere, nihil eo more per belli tempus intermisso, modo
 brevioribus modo longioribus spatiis trahendo eos a porta,
 lusu sermonibusque variatis longius solito, ubi res dedit, 20
 progressus inter stationes eos hostium castraque inde
 3 Romana in praetorium ad Camillum perduxit. ibi scelesto
 4 facinori scelestiorem sermonem addit, Falerios se in manus
 Romanis tradidisse, quando eos pueros, quorum parentes
 5 capita ibi rerum sint, in potestatem dediderit. quae ubi 25
 Camillus audivit, 'non ad similem' inquit 'tui nec populum
 nec inperatorem scelestus ipse cum scelesto munere venisti.
 6 nobis cum Faliscis, quae pacto fit humano, societas non
 est; quam ingeneravit natura utrisque, est eritque. sunt
 et belli sicut pacis iura; iustequae ea non minus quam 30
 7 fortiter didicimus gerere. arma habemus non adversus eam

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aetatem, cui etiam captis urbibus parcity, sed adversus armatos et ipsos, qui nec laesi nec lacesiti a nobis castra Romana ad Veios oppugnarunt. eos tu, quantum in te 8 fuit, novo scelere vicisti; ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis, sicut Veios, vincam.' denudatum deinde eum 9 manibus post tergum inligatis reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit virgasque eis, quibus proditorem agerent in urbem verberantes, dedit. ad quod spectaculum concursu populi 10 primum facto, deinde a magistratibus de re nova vocato senatu tanta mutatio animis est iniecta, ut, qui modo 10 efferati odio iraque Veientium exitum paene quam Capenatium pacem mallent, apud eos pacem universa posceret civitas. fides Romana, iustitia imperatoris in Surrender of 11 foro, in curia celebrantur; consensuque om- Falerii.

15 nium legati ad Camillum in castra atque inde permissu Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios, proficiscuntur. introducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur: 12 'patres conscripti, victoria, cui nec deus nec homo quisquam invideat, victi a vobis et inperatore vestro dedimus nos 20 vobis, rati, quo nihil victori pulchrius est, melius nos sub inperio vestro quam legibus nostris victuros. eventu huius 13 belli duo salutaria exempla prodita humano generi sunt: vos fidem in bello quam praesentem victoriam maluistis; nos fide provocati victoriam ultro detulimus. sub dicione vestra 25 sumus; mittite, qui arma, qui obsides, qui urbem patentibus 14 portis accipiant. nec vos fidei nostrae nec nos inperi vestri paenitebit.' Camillo et ab hostibus et a civibus 15 gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum eius anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia inperata. pace 30 data exercitus Romam reductus.

Camillus meliore multo laude, quam cum triumphantem 28

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albi per urbem vexerant equi, insignis, iustitia fideque hostibus victis cum in urbem redisset, taciti eius verecundiam non tulit senatus, quin sine mora voti liberaretur;

- 2 Gift to Apollo crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos
sent to Delphi. legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, A. 5
Manlius missi longa una nave, haud procul freto Siculo a
3 piratis Liparensium excepti devehuntur Liparas. mos erat
civitatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere.
forte eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus qui-
4 dam, Romanis vir similior quam suis, qui legatorum nomen 10
donumque et deum, cui mitteretur, et doni causam veritus
ipse multitudinem quoque, quae semper ferme regenti est
similis, religionis iustae inplevit; adductosque in publicum
hospitium legatos cum praesidio etiam navium Delphos
5 prosecutus Romam inde sospites restituit. hospitium cum 15
eo senatus consulto est factum donaque publice data.

- Eodem anno in Aequis varie bellatum, adeo ut in
6 War with the incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae,
Aequi. vicissent victine essent. imperatores Romani
fuere ex tribunis militum C. Aemilius, Sp. Postumius. primo 20
rem communiter gesserunt; fusis inde acie hostibus Aemi-
lium praesidio Verruginem obtinere placuit, Postumium
7 finis vastare. ibi eum incomposito agmine neglegentius ab
re bene gesta euntem adorti Aequi terrore iniecto in proxi-
mos conpulere tumulos; pavorque inde Verruginem etiam 25
8 ad praesidium alterum est perlatus. Postumius suis in
tutum receptis cum contione advocata terrorem increparet
ac fugam, fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo hoste,
conclamat universus exercitus merito se ea audire et fateri
admissum flagitium, sed eosdem correcturos esse, neque 30
9 diuturnum id gaudium hostibus fore. poscentes, ut confes-

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tim inde ad castra hostium duceret, et in conspectu erant
posita in plano, nihil poenae recusabant, ni ea ante noc-
tem expugnassent. conlaudatos corpora curare paratosque 10
esse quarta vigilia iubet. et hostes, nocturnam fugam ex
5 tumulo Romanorum ut ab ea via, quae ferebat Verruginem,
excluderent, fuere obvii; proeliumque ante lucem, sed
luna pernox erat, commissum est. haud incertius diurno
proelium fuit. sed clamor Verruginem perlatus, cum castra 11
Romana crederent oppugnari, tantum iniecit pavoris, ut
10 nequiquam retinente atque obsecrante Aemilio Tusculum
palati fugerent. inde fama Romam perlata est Postumium 12
exercitumque occisum. qui, ubi prima lux metum insidia-
rum effuse sequentibus sustulit, cum perequitasset aciem
promissa repetens, tantum iniecit ardoris, ut non ultra
15 sustinuerint inpetum Aequi. caedes inde fugientium, qualis 13
ubi ira magis quam virtute res geritur, ad perniciem
hostium facta est; tristemque ab Tusculo nuntium ne-
quiquam exterrita civitate litterae a Postumio laureatae
sequuntur, victoriam populi Romani esse, Aequorum ex-
20 ercitus deletum.

Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum invenerant 29
finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum et
patres reficere intercessores legis adnisi sunt; sed plus suis
comitiis plebs valuit; quem doloremulti patres sunt senatus 2
25 consulto facto, ut consules, invisus plebi magistratus, cre-
arentur. annum post quintum decimum creati consules L.
Lucretius Flavius, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. principio huius 3
anni ferociter, quia nemo ex conlegio intercessurus erat,
coortis ad perferendam legem tribunis plebis, nec segnius
30 ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus omnique civitate in
unam eam curam conversa, Vitelliam coloniam Romanam

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- 4 in suo agro Aequi expugnant. colonorum pars maxima incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam
 5 per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfugere. L. Lucretio consuli ea provincia evenit. is cum exercitu profectus acie hostes vicit victorque Romam ad maius 5
 6 aliquanto certamen rediit. dies dicta erat tribunis plebi bienni superioris A. Verginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi patrum consensu ad fidem senatus pertinebat; neque enim eos aut vitae ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratus quisquam arguebat, prae- 10
 terquam quod gratificantes patribus rogationi tribuniciae
 7 intercessissent. vicit tamen gratiam senatus plebis ira, et pessimo exemplo innoxii denis milibus gravis aeris condem-
 8 nati sunt. id aegre passi patres. Camillus op- poses the pro- posed occupation of Veii. palam sceleris plebem arguere, quae iam in 15
 suos versa non intellexeret se pravo iudicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse, intercessione sublata
 9 tribuniciam potestatem evertisse. nam quod illi sperarent effrenatam licentiam eius magistratus patres laturos, falli eos. si tribunicia vis tribunicio auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum 20
 10 patres inventuros esse. consulesque increpabat, quod fide publica decipi tribunos eos taciti tulissent, qui senatus auctoritatem secuti essent. haec propalam contionabundus
 30 in dies magis augebat iras hominum; senatum vero incitare adversus legem haud desistebat: ne aliter descenderent in 25
 forum, cum dies ferendae legis venisset, quam ut qui memi- nissent sibi pro aris focusque et deum templis ac solo, in quo
 2 nati essent, dimicandum fore. nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si suae gloriae sibi inter dimicationem patriae memi- nisse sit fas, sibi amplum quoque esse urbem ab se captam 30
 frequentari, cotidie se frui monumento gloriae suae et ante

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oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo, insistere omnis
 vestigiis laudum suarum; sed nefas ducere desertam ac 3
 relictam ab dis immortalibus incolī urbem, et in captivo solo
 habitare populum Romanum, et victrice patria victam
 5 mutari. his adhortationibus principis concitati patres, senes 4
 iuvenesque, cum ferretur lex, agmine facto in forum vene-
 runt dissipatique per tribus suos quisque tribulis prensantes
 orare cum lacrimis coepere, ne eam patriam, pro qua fortis- 5
 sime felicissimeque ipsi ac patres eorum dimicassent, desere-
 10 rent, Capitolium, aedem Vestae, cetera circa templa deorum
 ostentantes; ne exsulem, extorrem populum Romanum ab 6
 solo patrio ac dis penetibus in hostium urbem agerent
 eoque rem adducerent, ut melius fuerit non capi Veios, ne
 Roma desereretur. quia non vi agebant sed precibus, et 7
 15 inter preces multa deorum mentio erat, religiosum parti
 maximae fuit, et legem una plures tribus antiquarunt quam
 iusserunt. adeoque ea victoria laeta patribus fuit, ut postero 8
 die referentibus consulibus senatus consultum fieret, ut agri
 Veientani septena iugera plebi dividerentur, nec patribus
 20 familiae tantum, sed ut omnium in domo liberorum capitum
 ratio haberetur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.

Eo munere delenita plebe nihil certatum est, quo minus 31
 consularia comitia haberentur. creati consules Elections at 2
 L. Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino Rome. War with
 25 postea fuit cognomen. hi consules magnos the Aequi and
 Etruscans.
 ludos fecere, quos M. Furius dictator voverat Veienti bello.
 eodem anno aedes Iunonis reginae ab eodem dictatore 3
 eodemque bello vota dedicatur; celebratamque dedica-
 tionem ingenti matronarum studio tradunt.

30 Bellum haud memorabile in Algidō cum Aequis gestum 4
 est fusis hostibus prius paene, quam manus consererent,

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Valerio quod perseverantior caedendi in fuga fuit, triumphus, Manlio, ut ovans ingrederetur urbem, decretum est. 5 eodem anno novum bellum cum Volsiniensibus exortum; quo propter famem pestilentiamque in agro Romano ex siccitate caloribusque nimiiis ortam exercitus duci nequ- 5 vit. ob quae Volsinienses Sappinatibus adiunctis superbia inflati ultro agros Romanos incursavere; bellum inde duobus populis indictum.

C. Iulius censor decessit; in eius locum M. Cornelius suffectus, quae res postea religioni fuit, quia eo lustrum Roma 10 7 est capta; nec deinde umquam in demortui locum censor sufficitur. consulibusque morbo implicitis placuit per inter- 8 regnum renovari auspicia. itaque cum ex senatus consulto consules magistratu se abdicassent, interrex creatur M. Furius Camillus, qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is deinde L. Valerium 15 9 Potitum interregem prodidit. ab eo creati sex tribuni militum consulari potestate, ut, etiam si cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum rei publicae esset.

32 Kalendis Quinctilibus magistratum occepere L. Lucretius, 20 Ser. Sulpicius, M. Aemilius, L. Furius Medullinus septimum, 2 Agrippa Furius, C. Aemilius iterum. ex his L. Lucretio et C. Aemilio Volsinienses provincia evenit, Sappinates Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. prius cum Volsiniensibus pugnatum 3 est. bellum numero hostium ingens, certamine haud sane 25 asperum fuit. fusa primo concursu acies, in fugam versa milia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa positae armis 4 in deditionem venerunt. eius belli fama effecit, ne se pugnae committerent Sappinates; moenibus armati se tuebantur. Romani praedas passim et ex Sappinati agro et ex 30 5 Volsiniensi nullo eam vim arcente egerunt, donec Volsinien-

[XXIV—XXXIII. B.C. 395—391. *War with the Etruscans and the Aequi. Political disputes at Rome.*]

sibus fessis bello ea condicione, ut res populo Romano redderent stipendiumque eius anni exercitui praestarent, in viginti annos indutiae datae.

Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis 6
 5 se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est, supra
 aedem Vestae vocem noctis silentio audisse
 clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici
 iuberet Gallos adventare. id, ut fit, propter
 auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longin-
 10 qua eoque ignotior gens erat. neque deorum modo monita
 ingruente fato spreta, sed humanam quoque opem, quae
 una erat, M. Furium ab urbe amovere. qui, die dicta ab 8
 L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Veientanam,
 filio quoque adulescente per idem tempus orbatus, cum
 15 accitis domum tribulibus et clientibus, quae magna pars
 plebis erat, percunctatus animos eorum responsum tulisset,
 se conlaturus quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non 9
 posse, in exilium abiit, precatus ab dis immortalibus, si
 innoxio sibi ea iniuria fieret, primo quoque tempore de-
 20 siderium sui civitati ingratae facerent. absens quindecim
 milibus gravis aeris damnatur.

M. Caedicius warned of the approach of the Gauls. Camillus is accused and goes into exile. 7

Expulso cive, quo manente, si quicquam humanorum 33
 certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante
 fatali urbi clade, legati ab Clusinis veniunt
 25 auxilium adversus Gallos petentes. eam gentem
 traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, nova tum
 voluptate, captam Alpes transisse agrosque ab Etruscis ante
 cultos possedissee; et invexisse in Galliam vinum inliciendae 3
 gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris ab
 30 Lucumone, cui tutor ipse fuerat, praepotente iuvene et a quo
 expeti poena, nisi externa vis quaesita esset, nequiret; hunc 4

Story of the Gauls entering Italy.

[XXIV—XXXIII. B.C. 395—391. *War with the Etruscans and the Aequi. Political disputes at Rome.*]

transeuntibus Alpis ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse.

Equidem haud abnuerim Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte seu
 5 quo alio Clusino adductos; sed eos, qui oppugnaverint Clusium, non fuisse, qui primi Alpis transierint, satis
 constat. ducentis quippe annis ante quam Clusium oppug-
 narent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli trans-
 6 cenderunt; nec cum his primum Etruscorum, sed multo
 ante cum eis, qui inter Appenninum Alpisque incolebant,
 7 saepe exercitus Gallici pugnare. Tuscorum ante Roma-
 num imperium late terra marique opes patuere.
 Former domi-
 nion of the Etrus-
 cans in Italy. mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae
 modo cingitur, quantum potuerint, nomina sunt
 argumento, quod alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentis,
 alterum Atriatium mare ab Atria, Tuscorum colonia, voca-
 8 vere Italicae gentes; Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adria-
 9 ticum vocant. et in utrumque mare vergentis incoluere
 urbibus duodenis terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum
 mare, postea trans Appenninum totidem, quot capita originis
 10 erant, coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca, excepto
 Venetorum angulo, qui sinum circumcolunt maris, usque
 11 ad Alpis tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie
 origo est, maxime Raetis, quos loca ipsa efferarunt, ne quid
 ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum,
 retinerent.

25

[XXXIV—XXXVI. B.C. 391. *Immigration of the Gauls into Italy. Attack on Clusium.*]

34 De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus: Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ei regem

[XXXIV—XXXVI. B.C. 391. *Immigration of the Gauls into Italy. Attack on Clusium.*]

Celtico dabant. Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque cum 2
sua tum publica praepollens, quod in inperio
eius Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis First immi-
gration of the
Gauls.
fuit, ut abundans multitudo vix regi videretur
5 posse. hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare praegravante 3
turba regnum cupiens Bellovesum ac Segovesum, sororis
filios, inpigros iuvenes, missurum se esse in quas di dedis-
sent auguriis sedis ostendit : quantum ipsi vellent numerum 4
hominum excirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientis posset.
10 tum Segoveso sortibus dati Hercynei saltus; Belloveso haud
paulo laetiozem in Italiam viam di dabant. is, quod regis 5
ex populis abundabat, Bituriges, Arvernos, Senones, Aeduos,
Ambarros, Carnutes, Aulercos excivit. profectus ingentibus
peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos venit. Alpes 6
15 inde oppositae erant; quas inexsuperabilis visas haud equi-
dem miror, nulladum via, quod quidem continens memoria
sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere libet, superatas. ibi 7
cum velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos, circum-
spectarentque, quanam per iuncta caelo iuga in alium orbem
20 terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit, quod adlatum est
advenas quaerentis agrum ab Salyum gente oppugnari.
Massilienses erant ei, navibus a Phocaea profecti. id Galli 8
fortunae suae omen rati adiuvere, ut, quem primum in
terram egressi occupaverant locum, patientibus Salyis
25 communirent. ipsi per Taurinos saltus vallemque Duriae
Alpis transcenderunt fuisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino 9
flumine, cum, in quo consederant, agrum In- Settlement of
the Gauls in Italy.
subrium appellari audissent, cognominem In-
subribus, pago Haeduorum, ibi omen sequentes loci condi-
30 dere urbem; Mediolanium appellarunt. alia subinde manus 35
Cenomanorum Etitovio duce vestigia priorum secuta eodem

[XXXIV—XXXVI. B.C. 391. *Immigration of the Gauls into Italy.
Attack on Clusium.*]

salto favente Belloveso cum transcendisset Alpis, ubi nunc
 2 Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt, locos tenere. Libui considunt
 post hos Salluviique, prope antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures
 incolentis circa Ticinum amnem. Poenino deinde Boii
 Lingonesque transgressi, cum iam inter Padum atque Alpis 5
 omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos modo
 sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Appenninum tamen
 3 sese tenere. tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab
 Utente flumine usque ad Aesim finis habuere. hanc gentem
 Clusium Romamque inde venisse conperio; id parum cer- 10
 tum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum
 populis adiutam.

4 Clusini novo bello exterriti, cum multitudinem, cum
 formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus
 armorum audirentque saepe ab eis cis Padum 15
 ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam
 adversus Romanos nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve
 erat, nisi quod Veientis consanguineos adversus populum
 Romanum non defendissent, legatos Romam, qui auxilium
 5 ab senatu peterent, misere. de auxilio nihil inpetratum; 20
 legati tres M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus populique
 Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis, ne, a quibus nullam
 iniuriam accepissent, socios populi Romani atque amicos
 6 oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quoque, si res cogat,
 tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum amoveri, si 25
 posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam
 armis.

36 Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis
 quam Romanis similis habuisset. quibus,
 The Roman ambassadors take part in the battle
 2 against the Gauls. postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio Gal- 30
 lorum, datur responsum, etsi novum nomen

[XXXIV—XXXVI. B.C. 391. *Immigration of the Gauls into Italy.
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audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortis esse, quorum
auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit inploratum; et quoniam 3
legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne
se quidem pacem, quam illi adferant, aspernari, si Gallis
5 egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini,
partem finium concedant; aliter pacem inpetrari non posse.
et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle et, si negetur 4
ager, coram eisdem Romanis dimicatu-ros, ut nuntiare domum
possent, quantum Galli virtute ceteros mortalis praestarent.
10 quodnam id ius esset, agrum a possessoribus petere aut 5
minari arma, Romanis quaerentibus, et quid in Etruria rei
Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium
virorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque animis
ad arma discurretur et proelium conseritur. ibi, iam urgen- 6
15 tibus Romanam urbem fatis, legati contra ius gentium arma
capiunt. nec id clam esse potuit, cum ante signa Etrusco-
rum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pug-
narent; tantum eminebat peregrina virtus. quin etiam 7
Q. Fabius evectus - extra - aciem - equo ducem - Gallorum,
20 ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem, per latus
transfixum hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli
adgnovere, perque totam aciem Romanum legatum esse
signum datum est. omissa inde in Clusinos ira receptui 8
canunt minantes Romanis. erant, qui extemplo
25 Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores, ut
legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postu-
latumque, ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dederentur.
legati Gallorum cum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, 9
senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum, et ius postulare
30 barbari videbantur; sed ne id, quod placebat, decerneret in
tantae nobilitatis viris; ambitio obstabat. itaque ne penes 10

The Gauls send
an embassy to
Rome.

[XXXIV—XXXVI. B.C. 391. *Immigration of the Gauls into Italy. Attack on Clusium.*]

ipsos culpa esset cladis, si forte, Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valere, ut, quorum de poena agebatur, tribuni militum consulari potestate in in-
 11 sequentem annum crearentur. quo facto haud secus, quam 5
 dignum erat, infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad
 12 suos redeunt. tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati
 Q. Sulpicius Longus, Q. Servilius quartum, P. Cornelius Maluginensis.

[XXXVII—XXXVIII. B.C. 390. *Battle on the Allia.*]

37 Cum tanta moles mali instaret—adeo obcaecat animos 10
 The Gauls fortuna, ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non
 march against vult—, civitas, quae adversus Fidenatem ac
 Rome. Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos
 ultima experiens auxilia dictatorem multis tempestatibus
 2 dixisset, ea tunc inuisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano 15
 terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente nihil extraordinari in-
 3 peri aut auxili quaesivit. tribuni, quorum temeritate bellum
 contractum erat, summae rerum praeerant dilectumque nihilo
 accuratiorem, quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat,
 4 extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. interim Galli, 20
 postquam acceperere ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris
 humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantem ira,
 cuius inpotens est gens, confestim signis convulsis citato
 5 agmine iter ingrediuntur. ad quorum praetereuntium rap-
 tim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent, 25
 fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore
 significabant, quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac
 6 late fuso agmine inmensum obtinentes loci. sed antecedente

[XXXVII—XXXVIII. B.C. 390. *Battle on the Allia.*]

fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps inde aliorum popu-
 lorum, plurimum terroris Romam celeritas hostium tulit,
 quippe quibus velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto aegre 7
 ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Alia,
 5 Crustumini montibus praealto defluens alveo, haud multum
 infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur. iam omnia contra 8
 circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus
 gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta con-
 pleverant sono.

10 Ibi tribuni militum non loco castris ante capto, non 38
 praemunito vallo, quo receptus esset, non deo-
 rum saltem, si non hominum, memores, nec Defeat of the
Romans at the
Allia. auspicato nec litato instruunt aciem diductam
 in cornua, ne circumveniri multitudo hostium possent ;

15 nec tamen aequari frontes poterant, cum extenuando infirmam 2
 et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. paulum erat
 ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleti placuit ;
 eaque res ut initium pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugien-
 tibus fuit. nam Brennus, regulus Gallorum, in paucitate 3
 20 hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superio-
 rem locum, ut, ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte
 concucurrissent, subsidia in aversos transversosque inpetum
 darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos loco depulisset, 4
 haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti
 25 multitudo victoriam fore ; adeo non fortuna modo sed
 ratio etiam cum barbaris stabat. in altera acie nihil simile 5
 Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. pavor
 fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium oblivio, ut
 multo maior pars Veios, in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis
 30 arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad coniuges ac liberos
 fugerent. parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus ; in reli- 6
 qua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab

[XXXVII—XXXVIII. B.C. 390. *Battle on the Allia.*]

tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent,
 non modo non temptato certamine sed ne clamore quidem
 7 reddito integri intactique fugerunt; nec ulla caedes pugnan-
 tium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine in turba
 8 inpedientium fugam. circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis 5
 totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est,
 multosque inperitos nandi aut invalidos, gravis lorice aliis-
 9 que tegminibus, hausere gurgites. maxima tamen pars in-
 columis Veios perfugit, unde non modo praesidi quicquam
 10 sed ne nuntius quidem cladis Romam est missus. ab dextro 10
 cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat,
 Romam omnes petiere et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in
 arcem confugerunt.

[XXXIX—XLII. B.C. 390. *Preparations at Rome. Destruction of Rome by the Gauls.*]

39 Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae
 tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi 15
 The Gauls
 march on Rome.
 Panic in Rome. primum steterunt, velut ignari, quid accidisset;
 deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spo-
 lia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacervare;
 2 tum demum, postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur, viam
 ingressi haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam 20
 perveniunt. ubi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas,
 non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in
 muris rettulissent, aliud priori simile miraculum eos susti-
 3 nuit; noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis inter Romam
 atque Anienem consedere exploratoribus missis circa moenia 25
 aliasque portas, quaenam hostibus in perdita re consilia
 4 essent. Romani, cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset
 quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos, qui

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Romam refugerant, crederet, conplorati omnes pariter vivi
mortuique totam prope urbem lamentis inpleverunt. priva- 5
tos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostis
adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus cantusque dissonos
5 vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris audiebant. omne 6
inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem
alteram, ut identidem iam in urbem futurus videretur in-
petus: primo adventu, quia accesserant ad urbem: man-
suros enim ad Aliam fuisse, nisi hoc consili foret; deinde 7
10 sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante
noctem ratis invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum consilium esse,
quo plus pavoris inferrent; postremo lux adpropinquans ex- 8
animare; timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit, cum
signa infesta portis sunt inlata. nequaquam tamen ea nocte
15 neque insequenti die similis illi, quae ad Aliam tam pavide
fugerat, civitas fuit. nam cum defendi urbem
posse tam parva relictæ manu spes nulla esset, The Romans 9
resolve to defend
the Capitol.
placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem
militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque conce- 10
20 dere armisque et frumento conlato inde ex loco munito
deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere; flaminem 11
sacerdotesque Vestalis sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis
procul auferre, nec ante deserì cultum deorum, quam non
superessent, qui colerent. si arx Capitoliumque, sedes deo- 12
25 rum, si senatus, caput publici consili, si militaris iuventus
superfuerit inminente ruinae urbis, facilem iacturam esse
seniorum relictæ in urbe utique periturae turbæ. et 13
quo id æquiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes
triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam di-
30 cere obituros, nec his corporibus, quibus non arma ferre,
non tueri patriam possent, oneratos inopiam armatorum.

[XXXIX—XLII. B.C. 390. *Preparations at Rome. Destruction of Rome by the Gauls.*]

- 40 Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata solacia.
 The city is de- versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum,
 serted. quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequen-
 bantur, commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per
 trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis quaecum- 5
 2 que reliqua esset fortuna. digredientibus, qui spem omnem
 atque opem secum ferebant, ab eis, qui captae urbis non
 3 superesse statuerant exitio, cum ipsa res speciesque misera-
 bilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta nunc
 hos nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque, 10
 cui se fato darent, nihil, quod humani superesset mali,
 4 relinquebant. magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos
 persecutae sunt nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia,
 quod utile obsessis ad minuendam inbellem multitudinem,
 5 id parum humanum erat. alia maxime plebis turba, quam 15
 nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia
 frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa velut agmine iam uno
 6 petiit Ianiculum. inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbis
 petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu, suam quisque
 7 spem, sua consilia communibus deploratis sequentes. flamen 20
 interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales omissa rerum suarum
 cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae, quia vires ad
 omnia ferenda deerant, relinquenda essent, consultantes,
 8 quisve ea locus fideli adservaturus custodia esset, optimum
 ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis 25
 Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter
 se onere partito ferunt via, quae sublicio ponte ducit ad
 9 Ianiculum. in eo clivo eas cum L. Albinus, de plebe
 homo, conspexisset plaustro coniugem ac liberos vehens
 inter ceteram turbam, quae inutilis bello urbe excedebat, 30
 10 salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque

[XXXIX—XLII. B.C. 390. *Preparations at Rome. Destruction of Rome by the Gauls.*]

rerum, religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspicui, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plastrum inposuit et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

Romae interim satis iam omnibus ut in tali re ad 41
tuendam arcem compositis turba seniorum
domos regressi adventum hostium obstinato The Gauls enter and plunder the city. ad mortem animo expectabant. qui eorum 2
10 curulis gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis sedere. sunt qui M. Folio 3
pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro
15 patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant. Galli, et quia inter-4
posita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos, et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec tum inpetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta
20 in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa deum arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. inde modico 5
relicto praesidio, ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio inpetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursum hominum viis, pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars
25 ultima, velut ea demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt. inde rursus ipsa solitudine absteriti, ne qua fraus hostilis 6
vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca conglobati redibant; ubi eos plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis 7
principum, maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam
30 clausa invadendi; adeo haud secus quam venerabundi 8
intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentis viros, praeter

[XXXIX—XLII. B.C. 390. *Preparations at Rome. Destruction of Rome by the Gauls.*]

ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam,
 quam vultus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat, simillimos dis.
 9 ad eos velut ad simulacra versi cum starent, M. Papirius,
 unus ex eis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus
 promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso 5
 iram movisse, atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in
 10 sedibus suis trucidatos; post principum caedem nulli
 deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignis.
 42 Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat,
 seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum, et 10
 ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si
 compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum
 2 obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari tecta, ut, quod-
 cumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium
 animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe 15
 3 prima die aut passim aut late vagatus est ignis. Romani ex
 arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per vias
 omnis cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades
 oreretur, non mentibus solum consipere sed ne auribus
 4 quidem atque oculis satis constare poterant. quocumque 20
 clamor hostium, mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus
 flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes
 ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant, velut ad
 spectaculum a fortuna positi occidentis patriae nec ullius
 rerum suarum relictis praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto 25
 5 ante alios miserandi magis, qui umquam obsessi sunt,
 quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur omnia sua cer-
 6 nentes in hostium potestate. nec tranquillior nox diem
 tam foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquieta
 insecuta est; nec ullum erat tempus, quod a novae semper 30
 7 cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. nihil tamen tot onerati

The Romans
 in the Capitol re-
 solve to hold out.

[XXXIX—XLII. B.C. 390. *Preparations at Rome. Destruction of Rome by the Gauls.*]

atque obruti malis flexerunt animos, quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque, quem tenebant, collem libertati relictum virtute defenderent; et iam, cum eadem cotidie acciderent, velut adsueti 8
5 malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequi- 43
quam bello gesto cum inter incendia ac ruinas
10 captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos Unsuccessful
attack of the
Gauls.
hostis viderent nequaquam tot cladibus territos
nec flexuros ad deditionem animos, ni vis adhiberetur, experiri
ultima et inpetum facere in arcem statuunt. prima luce 2
signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore
15 sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. adversus quos Romani
nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnis aditus stationibus firmatis,
qua signa ferri videbant, ea robore virorum opposito scandere
hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum, eo pelli posse
per proclive facilius rati. medio fere clivo restitere, atque inde 3
20 ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat,
inpetu facto strage ac ruina fudere Gallos, ut numquam
postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint tale pugnae genus.
omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi obsidionem 4
parant, cuius ad id tempus inmemores et quod in urbe
25 fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris
per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. igitur exercitu 5
diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim
obsideri arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populos agrorum praeberent.

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

- 6 Proficiscentis Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam
 Camillus en- virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam ubi Camillus
 7 courages the exsulabat, duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna pub-
 the people of Ardea
 to attack the lica quam sua cum dis hominibusque accusan-
 Gauls. dis senesceret, indignando mirandoque, ubi 5
 illi viri essent, qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui
 8 alia bella fortius semper quam felicius gessissent, repente
 audit Gallorum exercitum adventare atque de eo pavidus
 Ardeatis consultare. nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus
 cum se in mediam contionem intulisset, abstinere suetus ante 10
 44 talibus conciliis, 'Ardeates' inquit, 'veteres amici, novi
 etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et
 fortuna hoc eguit mea, nemo vestrum condicionis meae
 oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac periculum
 commune cogit quod quisque possit in re trepida praesidi 15
 2 in medium conferre. et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris
 in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? aut ubi
 usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? hac arte in
 patria steti et invictus bello in pace ab ingratis civibus
 3 pulsus sum. vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et 20
 pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi meministis,
 nec enim exprobranda apud memores sunt, gratiae refe-
 rendae et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi
 4 pariendi, qui effuso agmine adventat. gens est, cui natura
 corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in 25
 5 certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt. argu-
 mento sit clades Romana: patentem cepere urbem; ex
 arce Capitolioque eis exigua resistitur manu; iam obsidionis
 6 taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros palantur. cibo
 vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi nox adpetit, prope rivos 30
 aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis
 passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

magis etiam solito incauti. si vobis in animo est tueri 7
moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, prima
vigilia capite arma frequentesque me sequimini ad caedem,
non ad pugnam. nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes truci-
5 dandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mea-
rum exitum, quem Romae habui.' aequis iniquisque per- 45
suasum erat tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea
tempestate esse. contione dimissa corpora curant, intenti
quam mox signum daretur. quo dato primo silentio noctis
10 ad portas Camillo praesto fuere. egressi haud procul urbe, 2
sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque
ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore invadunt. nus- 3
quam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et
soluta somno trucidantur. extremos tamen pavor cubilibus
15 suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset, ignaros in fugam et
quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. magna pars in
agrum Antiatem delati incursione ab oppidanis in palatos
facta circumveniuntur.

Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages est, qui 4
20 urbis iam prope quadringentesimum annum
vicinae, oppressae ab hoste invisitato, inaudito, The Romans
at Veii defeat
the Etruscans.
adeo nihil miseriti sunt, ut in agrum Romanum
eo tempore incursiones facerent plenique praedae Veios
etiam, praesidiumque et spem ultimam Romani nominis, in
25 animo habuerint oppugnare. viderant eos milites Romani 5
vagantis per agros et congregatos agmine praedam prae se
agentis et castra cernebant haud procul Veis posita. inde 6
primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira
animos cepit: Etruscisne etiam, a quibus bellum Gallicum
30 in se avertissent, ludibrio esse cladis suas? vix tempera- 7
vere animis, quin extemplo inpetum facerent; compressi
a Q. Caedicio centurione, quem sibimet ipsi praefecerant,

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

8 rem in noctem sustinuere. tantum par Camillo defuit auctor ;
cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. quin
etiam ducibus captivis, qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant,
ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad salinas profecti nocte inse-
quenti ex inproviso maiorem caedem edidere duplicique 5
victoria ovantes Veios redeunt.

- 46 Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrimque si-

 Brave deeds of
 C. Fabius and
 Pontius Comi-
 nius.

 lentium esse ad id tantum intentis Gallis, ne
 quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset,
 cum repente iuvenis Romanus admiratione in 10
 2 se civis hostisque convertit. sacrificium erat statum in
 Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. ad id faciendum C. Fabius
 Dorsuo, Gabino cinctu, sacra manibus gerens, cum de Capi-
 tolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus,
 nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus, in Quirinalem 15
 3 collem pervenit ; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis eadem
 revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans
 propitios esse deos, quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu
 prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit seu
 attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae, seu religione etiam motis, 20
 cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.
- 4 Veis interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires
 crescebant. nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris,
 qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant,
 sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus, ut in parte 25
 5 praedae essent, maturum iam videbatur repeti patriam eri-
 pique ex hostium manibus ; sed corpori valido caput deerat. .
- 6 locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat,
 qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere gesserant ; et
 Caedicius negare se commissurum, cur sibi aut deorum aut 30
 hominum quisquam inperium finiret potius, quam ipse
 7 memor ordinis sui posceret inperatorem. consensu omnium

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

placuit ab Ardea Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu,
 qui Romae esset; adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque
 rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. ingenti periculo 8
 transeundum per hostium custodias erat. ad eam rem
 5 Pontius Cominius inpiger iuvenis operam pollicitus, incu-
 bans cortici secundo Tiberi ad urbem defertur. inde, qua 9
 proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum
 hostium custodia saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad
 magistratus ductus mandata exercitus edit. accepto inde 10
 10 senatus consulto, uti comitiis curiatis revo- Camillus ap-
 catus de exilio iussu populi Camillus dictator pointed dictator.
 extemplo diceretur, militesque haberent inperatorem, quem
 vellent, eadem degressus nuntius Veios contendit; missique 11
 Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu,
 15 quod magis credere libet, non prius profectum ab Ardea,
 quam conpererit legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi
 mutari finibus posset, nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in
 exercitu habere, lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens
 dictus.

20 Dum haec Veis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capito- 47
 liumque in ingenti periculo fuit. namque The Gauls at- 2
 Galli seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius tack the Capitol
 a Veis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso and are repulsed
 by M. Manlius.
 ad Carmentis saxo ascensu aequo, nocte sublustri, cum
 25 primo inermem, qui temptaret viam, praemisissent, tradentes
 inde arma, ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sublevantesque
 in vicem et trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto 3
 silentio in summum evasere, ut non custodes solum fallerent,
 sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus,
 30 excitarent. anseres non fefellere, quibus sacris Iunonis in 4
 summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. quae res saluti fuit;
 namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M.

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*

Manlius, qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit et, dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum, qui iam in summo constiterat, 5 umbone ictum deturbat. cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantis alios armisque omissis saxa, quibus 5 adhaerebant, manibus amplexos trucidat. iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostis, ruina- 6 que tota prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum turbatis mentibus poterat, cum praeteritum quoque periculum sollicitaret, quieti datum 10 est. luce orta, vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab 8 tribunis solum militum sed consensu etiam militari; cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedis eius, quae 15 in arce erant, contulerunt, rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis 9 ad honorem unius viri conferret. tum vigiles eius loci, qua fefellerat ascendens hostis, citati; et cum in omnis more 20 militari se animadversurum Q. Sulpicius tribunus militum 10 pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem coicientium culpam deterritus a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus cunctis de saxo 11 deiecit. inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, et 25 apud Gallos, quia vulgatum erat inter Veios Romanque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

48 Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala fames utrumque 2 The Romans exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, 30 on the Capitol cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentis make terms with the Gauls. tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cine-

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

remque non pulverem modo ferente, cum quid venti motum
esset. quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori 3
adsueta, cum aestu et angore vexata vulgatis velut in pecua
morbis morentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promiscue
5 acervatos cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde
Gallicorum nomine insignem locum fecere. indutiae deinde 4
cum Romanis factae et colloquia permissu inperatorum
habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem obicerent
eaeque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae
10 eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus
esse in hostium stationes. sed iam neque dissimulari neque 5
ferri ultra fames poterat. itaque dum dictator dilectum per
se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veis
abducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque, quibus haud
15 inpar adoriatur hostis, interim Capitolinus exercitus sta- 6
tionibus, vigiliis fessus superatis tamen humanis omnibus
malis, cum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem
de die prospectans, ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret,
postremo spe quoque iam, non solum cibo deficiente et, 7
20 cum stationes procederent, prope obruentibus infirmum
corpus armis vel dedi vel redimi se, quacumque pactione
possent, iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna
mercede se adduci posse, ut obsidionem relinquunt. tum 8
senatus habitus, tribunisque militum negotium datum, ut
25 paciscerentur. inde inter Q. Sulpicium tribunum militum
et Brennum regulum Gallorum colloquio transacta res est,
et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox inperaturi
iactum. rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est: 9
pondera ab Gallis adlata iniqua, et tribuno recusante
30 additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque
intoleranda Romanis vox: vae victis.

Sed dique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere 49

[XLIII—XLIX. 7. B.C. 390. *Siege and Deliverance of Rome.*]

Romanos. nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces
 Camillus de. perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni
 livers Rome from auro adpenso dictator intervenit auferrique
 the Gauls. aurum de medio et Gallos submoveri iubet.

- 2 cum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem 5
 ratam esse, quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset,
 iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset ;
 3 denuntiatque Gallis, ut se ad proelium expediant. suos in
 acervum conicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque, non
 auro recuperare patriam iubet in conspectu habentis fana 10
 deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli
 malis et omnia, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit.
 4 instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae
 solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia, quae arte belli
 5 secunda suis eligi praepararive poterant, providit. Galli nova 15
 re trepidi arma capiunt, iraque magis quam consilio in
 Romanos incurrunt. iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes
 humanaeque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. igitur
 primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi Galli sunt, quam
 6 ad Aliam vicerant. iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum 20
 lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem
 ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. ibi caedes omnia
 obtinuit ; castra capiuntur, et ne nuntius quidem cladis
 7 relictus. dictator recuperata ex hostibus patria triumphans
 in urbem rediit, interque iocos militaris, quos inconditos 25
 iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis
 haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus
 against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

- 8 Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud
 dubie servavit, cum prohibuit migrari Veios et tribunis rem

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata
magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non abdi- 9
candae post triumphum dictaturae, senatu obsecrante, ne
rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu. omnium primum, 50
5 ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae
ad deos immortalis pertinebant, rettulit et Measures at
senatus consultum facit, fana omnia, quod Rome after the 2
ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur, termina- departure of the
rentur expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in Gauls. Proposal
libris per duumviros quaereretur; cum Cae- to migrate to
10 ritibus hospitium publice fieret, quod sacra populi Romani Veii renewed and
ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi non opposed by Ca-
intermissus honos deorum immortalium esset; ludi Capitolini millus. 3
fierent, quod Iuppiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque
15 arcem populi Romani in re trepida tutatus esset, conlegiumque
ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex eis, qui in
Capitolio atque arce habitarent. expiandae etiam vocis 5
nocturnae, quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita
neglectaque esset, mentio inlata iussumque templum in
20 Nova via Aio Locutio fieri. aurum, quod Gallis ereptum 6
erat quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Iovis
cellam conlatum, cum, quo referri oporteret, confusa memoria
esset, sacrum omne iudicatum et sub Iovis sella poni iussum.
iam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quod, cum in 7
25 publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pactae mercedis
Gallis confieret, a matronis conlatum acceperant, ut sacro
auro abstineretur. matronis gratiae actae honosque additus,
ut earum sicut virorum post mortem sollemnis laudatio
esset.
30 His peractis, quae ad deos pertinebant quaeque per 8
senatum agi poterant, tum demum agitantibus tribunis

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

- plebem adsiduis contionibus, ut relictis ruinis in urbem paratam Veios transmigrarent, in contionem universo senatu
 51 prosequente escendit atque ita verba fecit: ‘adeo mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsili solacium 5 aliud habuerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quam quod procul ab his certaminibus eram, et ob eadem haec non, si milies senatus consulto
 2 populique iussu revocaretis, rediturus umquam fuerim. nec nunc me, ut redirem, mea voluntas mutata, sed vestra 10 fortuna perpulit; quippe, ut in sua sede maneret patria, id agebatur, non ut ego utique in patria essem. et nunc quiescerem ac tacerem libenter, nisi haec quoque pro patria dimicatio esset, cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat, aliis turpe,
 3 Camillo etiam nefas est. quid enim repetiimus, quid obses- 15 sam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si recuperatam ipsi deserimus? et cum, victoribus Gallis, capta tota urbe, Capitolium tamen atque arcem dique et homines Romani tenuerint et habitaverint, victoribus Romanis, recuperata urbe, arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur, et plus vastitatis 20 huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna faciet, quam adversa fecit?
 4 equidem, si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per manus religiones nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen hac tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis, ut omnem neglegentiam 25 divini cultus exemptam hominibus putem. intuemini enim horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel adversas; invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus deos, adversa
 6 spernentibus. iam omnium primum Veiens bellum, per 30 quot annos quanto labore gestum! non ante cepit finem, quam monitu deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est. 30
 7 quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades nova? num ante

Patriotism requires me to speak. The hand of the Gods can be traced in past events.

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

exorta est, quam spreta vox caelo emissa de adventu Gallo-
rum, quam gentium ius ab legatis nostris violatum, quam
a nobis, cum vindicari deberet, eadem neglegentia deorum
praetermissum? igitur victi captique ac redempti tantum 8
5 poenarum dis hominibusque dedimus, ut terrarum orbi
documento essemus. adversae deinde res admonuerunt
religionum. confugimus in Capitolium ad deos, ad sedem 9
Iovis optimi maximi; sacra in ruina rerum nostrarum alia
terra celavimus, alia avecta in finitimas urbis amovimus
10 ab hostium oculis; deorum cultum, deserti ab dis homini-
busque, tamen non intermisimus. reddidere igitur patriam 10
et victoriam et antiquum belli-decus amissum et in hostis,
qui caeci avaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt,
verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem. haec culti neglec- 52
15 tique numinis tanta momenta in rebus humanis
cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quantum
vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpa cladisque
emergentes paremus nefas? urbem auspicato
3 inauguratoque conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non
20 religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus
non dies magis statim quam loca sunt, in quibus fiant. hos 3
omnis deos publicos privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis?
quam par vestrum factum ei est, quod in obsidione nuper
in egregio adulescente C. Fabio non minore hostium admira-
25 tione quam vestra conspectum est, cum inter Gallica tela
degressus ex arce sollemne Fabiae gentis in colle Quirinali
obiit? an gentilicia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitteri, 4
publica sacra et Romanos deos etiam in pace deseri placet,
et pontifices flaminesque neglegentiores publicarum religio-
30 num esse, quam privatus in sollemni gentis fuerit? forsitan 5
aliquis dicat aut Veis ea nos facturos aut huc inde missuros

The religious
associations and
institutions for-
bid us to desert
Rome.

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

sacerdotes nostros, qui faciant ; quorum neutrum fieri salvis
 6 caerimoniis potest. et ne omnia generatim sacra omnisque
 percenseam deos, in Iovis epulo num alibi quam in Capitolio)
 7 pulvinar suscipi potest? quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus
 signoque, quod inperi pignus custodia eius templi tenetur, 5
 loquar? quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive tuque,
 Quirine pater? haec omnia in profano deseri placet sacra,
 8 aequalia urbi, quaedam vetustiora origine urbis? et videte,
 quid inter nos ac maiores intersit. illi sacra quaedam in
 monte Albano Lavinique nobis facienda tradiderunt;—an 10
 ex hostium urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum
 fuit, hinc sine piaculo in hostium urbem Veios transferemus?
 9 recordamini, agite dum, quotiens sacra instaurentur, quia
 aliquid ex patrio ritu negligentia casuve praetermissum est.
 modo quae res post prodigium Albani lacus nisi instauratio 15
 sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio adfectae Veienti bello
 10 rei publicae remedio fuit? at etiam, tamquam veterum
 religionum memores, et peregrinos deos transtulimus Romam
 et instituimus novos. Iuno regina transvecta a Veis nuper
 in Aventino quam insigni ob excellens matronarum studium 20
 11 celebrique dedicata est die! Aio Locutio templum propter
 caelestem vocem exauditam in Nova via iussimus fieri;
 Capitolinos ludos sollemnibus aliis addidimus conlegiumque
 12 ad id novum auctore senatu condidimus; quid horum opus
 fuit suscipi, si una cum Gallis urbem Romanam relicturi 25
 fuimus; si non voluntate mansimus in Capitolio per tot
 mensis obsidionis, sed ab hostibus metu retenti sumus?
 13 de sacris loquimur et de templis; quid tandem de sacerdo-
 tibus? nonne in mentem venit, quantum piaculi committatur?
 Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes est, ex qua eas nihil umquam 30
 praeterquam urbs capta movit; flamini Diali noctem unam

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

manere extra urbem nefas est; hos Veientis pro Romanis
facturi estis sacerdotes, et Vestales tuae te deserent, Vesta, 14
et flamen peregre habitando in singulas noctis tantum sibi
reique publicae piaculi contrahet? quid? alia, quae auspicato 15
5 agimus omnia fere intra pomerium, cui oblivioni aut cui
neglegentiae damus? comitia curiata, quae rem militarem 16
continent, comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque
militaris creatis, ubi auspicato, nisi ubi adsolent, fieri
possunt? Veiosne haec transferemus? an comitiorum causa 17
10 populus tanto incommodo in desertam hanc ab dis homini-
busque urbem conveniet?

‘At enim apparet quidem pollui omnia nec ullis piaculis 53
expiari posse, sed res ipsa cogit vastam incen-
diis ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra
15 omnia Veios migrare nec hic aedificando in-
opem plebem vexare. hanc autem iactari magis
causam quam veram esse, ut ego non dicam,
apparere vobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis ante Gallorum
adventum salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante incolumi
20 urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse, ut Veios transmigraremus.
et videte, quantum inter meam sententiam vestramque in- 3
tersit, tribuni. vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non fuerit, nunc
utique faciendum putatis; ego contra, nec id mirati sitis,
priusquam quale sit audieritis, etiamsi tum migrandum
25 fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas
non censerem. quippe tum causa nobis in urbem captam 4
migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris;
nunc haec migratio nobis misera ac turpis, Gallis gloriosa
est. non enim reliquisse victores, sed amisisse victi patriam 5
30 videbimur: hoc ad Aliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circum-
sessum Capitolium necessitatis inposuisse, ut desereremus

To leave Rome
would be as dis-
graceful to us as
it would be glori-
ous to our ene-
mies.

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

penatis nostros exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco
 conscisceremus, quem tueri non possemus. et Galli ever-
 tere potuerunt Romam, Romani restituere non videbuntur
 6 potuisse? quid restat, nisi ut, si iam novis copiis veniant
 (constat enim vix credibilem multitudinem esse) et habitare 5
 in capta ab se, deserta a vobis hac urbe velint, sinatis?
 7 quid? si non Galli hoc, sed veteres hostes vestri, Aequi
 Volscive, faciant, ut commigrent Romam, velitisne illos
 Romanos, vos Veientis esse? an malitis hanc solitudinem
 vestram quam urbem hostium esse? non equidem video, 10
 quid magis nefas sit. haec scelera, quia piget aedificare,
 8 haec dedecora pati parati estis? si tota urbe nullum melius
 ampliusve tectum fieri possit, quam casa illa conditoris est
 nostri, non in casis ritu pastorum agrestiumque habitare
 est satius inter sacra penatisque nostros quam exsulatum 15
 9 publice ire? maiores nostri, convenae pastoresque, cum in
 his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem
 tam brevi aedificarunt; nos Capitolio atque arce incolumi,
 stantibus templis deorum aedificare incensa piget? et quod
 singuli facturi fuimus, si aedes nostrae deflagrassent, hoc in 20
 54 publico incendio universi recusamus facere? quid tandem? si
 fraude, si casu Veis incendium ortum sit, vento-
 que, ut fieri potest, diffusa flamma magnam
 partem urbis absumat, Fidenas inde aut Gabios
 aliamve quam urbem quaesituri sumus, quo 25
 2 transmigremus? adeo nihil tenet solum patriae 5
 nec haec terra, quam matrem appellamus, sed in superficie
 3 tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet? equidem fatebor
 vobis, etsi minus iniuriæ vestrae meaeque calamitatis me-
 minisse iuvat: cum abessem, quotienscumque patria in 30
 mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles campique

The site of
 Rome is the
 source of her
 strength. The
 Capitol rules the
 world.

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

et Tiberis et adsueta oculis regio et hoc caelum, sub quo
 natus educatusque essem; quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant
 potius caritate sua, ut maneatis in sede vestra, quam postea,
 cum reliqueritis eam, macerent desiderio. non sine causa 4
 5 di hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, salu-
 berrimos collis, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis
 locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur,
 mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia pro-
 pinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae
 10 mediam, ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum. argu- 5
 mento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. trecentus
 sexagesimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot
 veterrimos populos tam diu bella geritis, cum interea, ne
 singulas loquar urbis, non coniuncti cum Aequis Volsci, tot
 15 tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria, tantum terra
 marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens
 Italiae, bello vobis par est. quod cum ita sit, quae malum! 6
 ratio est ista expertis alia experiri, cum, iam ut virtus vestra
 transire alio possit, fortuna certe loci huius transferri non
 20 possit? hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano 7 b
 invento responsum est eo loco caput rerum summamque
 inperi fore; hic cum augurato liberaretur Capitolium,
 Iuventus Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum
 moveri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo
 25 demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis dei.'

Movisse Camillus cum alia oratione tum ea, quae ad 55
 religiones pertinebat, maxime dicitur; sed rem
 dubiam decrevit vox opportune missa, quod, cum senatus post paulo de his rebus in curia

The proposal is
 abandoned and
 the city rebuilt.

30 Hostilia haberetur, cohortesque ex praesidiis revertentes
 forte agmine forum transirent, centurio in comitio exclama-

[XLIX. 8—LV. B.C. 390. *Rebuilding of Rome. Speech of Camillus against the proposal to migrate to Veii.*]

2 vit : 'signifer, statue signum ; hic manebimus optime.' qua
voce audita et senatus accipere se omen ex curia egressus
conclamavit, et plebs circumfusa adprobavit. antiquata
3 deinde lege promiscue urbs aedificari coepta. tegula pub-
lice praebita est ; saxi materiaeque caedendae, unde quisque 5
vellet, ius factum, praedibus acceptis eo anno aedificia per-
4 fecturos. festinatio curam exemit vicos derigendi, dum omisso
5 sui alienique discrimine in vacuo aedificant. ea est causa,
ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata
passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis 10
quam divisae similis.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

p. 1. 1 § 1. *Pace alibi parta*] Rome was for the time at peace with the Aequi and Volsci. See Introduction § 5.

parta] See Critical Appendix.

Romani Veique] Livy combines the name of a people with the name of a place for the sake of variety.

in armis erant] Rome had declared war three years before in 406 B.C.

3 *comitia*] a word appropriate only to elections at Rome is applied to the proceedings of the Veientes.

4 § 2. *tribunorum militum... numerum*] At first these officers were three in number (2. 10), later six were usually appointed, and Livy is probably mistaken in saying that the number was increased to eight in this year. Other authorities (*Fasti Cap.* p. 428) represent Camillus and Albinus as censors, and Livy himself, while he mentions Camillus as military tribune in 402 (10. 1) and 398 (14. 5), in the latter passage describes him as then holding office for a second time (*iterum*). Plut. *Cam.* 2 says that he was censor during the war with Veii, and while holding this office induced bachelors to marry the widows of those Romans who had fallen in the war.

7 *Ap. Claudius*] grandson of the decemvir, appears in the early part of this book as the advocate of the patricians. In IV. 48. 5 (416 B.C.) he is described as the youngest of the senators, and as he did not die until 349, he was probably now not more than 30.

8 *M. Furius Camillus*] the hero of the siege of Veii, the deliverer of Rome from the Gauls, and the champion of the patrician party. Probably Livy is indebted for many of the legends about Camillus to the traditions of the Gens Furia; see Introduction § 1.

- 9 § 3. *contra*] is used to mark a contrast between the actions of two men or bodies of men; cf. 20. 7; 53. 3.

taedio] abl. giving the internal cause of the action.

ambitionis] 'canvass', used of the efforts of candidates to obtain votes.

Ambitio is rarely used in an honourable sense; it often implies unworthy intrigue (36. 9).

- 10 *regem creaverē*] 'elected a king'. Livy leaves it to be understood that this was an innovation, and that Veii, like the other Etruscan towns, had hitherto been governed by an aristocracy of Lucumones. In IV. 17. 1, however, he tells us of a Veientine king, Lars Tolumnius, and we may conclude therefore that the present step was only a return to the former constitution.

- 11 *animos*] 'feelings' (not 'minds').

- 12 *non maiore odio*] 'not so much from dislike of monarchy as of the monarch himself'.

§ 4. *gravis*] here used in a bad sense, 'oppressive, unpopular'; in a good sense the word often describes the ideal Roman character, 'a serious man, a man of weight'.

iam...antea] This expression like ἤδη πρότερον is pleonastic. It occurs below 8. 6; 19. 6 and 50. 7. *Iam* is separated from the word to which it belongs, cf. 34. 3 *hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare...regnum cupiens*.

- 13 *genti*] The chief towns of Etruria, twelve in number (33. 9), formed a confederation, meeting at Volsinii for a yearly festival. The separate communities are called *populi* (§ 3; § 5; 17. 6), the Etruscan league regarded as a whole is called *gens* § 6, see Introd. § 7.

sollemnia ludorum] 'the festival of the games'. *Sollemne* the neuter of the adj. *sollemnis* is used in Livy and Tacitus as if it were a substantive proper, and here takes a genitive of definition: cf. 17. 2; 52. 3 and 4, and *ludicrum* § 5. The Etruscans were celebrated for their games, and the Romans derived from them many of the institutions of their religious festivals.

- 14 *nefas est*] The games were a religious ceremony and any interruption of them was regarded as a sin against the gods. The present *est* is used here, because the remark is of general application, and not limited to the particular time of which Livy is speaking; cf. 2. 7 *hiemis...quae...sit quies* (in oratio obliqua). Cf. also the common expression *ut fit* (19. 8; 32. 7) and *uti mos est* (XXII. 57. 2), both used of events in past time.

diremisset] oblique. The action is stated not as a fact, but as a cause influencing the *gens*: cf. *praelatus esset* § 5 and *excelleret* § 6.

§ 5. *cum...abduxit*] *Cum* with the present or perfect indicative is

often used to describe an action *identical* with the action of the principal clause. Here *cum...abduxit* defines the method in which *sollemnia diremisset*: cf. 3. 4; 49. 8; 52. 3.

ob iram repulsæ] Livy more frequently than his predecessors uses *ob* to denote the *internal* cause of an action (4. 11 *ob unam mulierem* gives the external cause). He generally uses *ob iram* with an objective genitive; cf. 1. 5. 3 *ob iram praedae amissae*, and below 33. 3 where the abl. *ira* is similarly used.

15 *duodecim populorum*] See n. on § 4, and cf. 33. 9.

alius sacerdos] 'another...as priest'. The high priest of the league was apparently elected annually to superintend the games etc.

16 *ei*] In a subordinate sentence *is*, referring to the subject of the principal sentence, can be used instead of the reflexive, if the subordinate clause is not represented as the thought of the subject. Here, however, *esset* must reflect the thought in the king's mind, and *sibi* would be more regular.

artifices] actors etc., who took part in the games and contests.

17 *ex medio ludicro*] See n. on *sollemnia* § 4, and cf. 1. 5. 3 *huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset*, where both words are used as substantives.

18 § 6. *itaque*] which from its derivation (=and so) should be the first word of the sentence, is often found in Livy in this position; cf. 20. 10; 43. 4 and *namque* 11. 6. On the other hand *igitur*, which in other writers rarely begins a sentence, is sometimes put first by Livy (51. 8).

ante omnis alias] *Ante omnis* in combination with a comparative renders it equivalent to a superlative. This phrase is concisely written for *ante omnis dedita religionibus atque eo magis quod*; cf. 42. 5 *tanto ante alios miserandi magis quod*.

religionibus] The plural here denotes 'religious observances' as in 50. 1 (*religionum cultor*); 51. 4; 52. 2, 4 (*publicae religiones*) and 10.

p. 2. 1 *colendi eas*] Most Latin writers avoid the genitive plural of the gerundive, and use in preference the gerund with an object: (cf. 2. 2; 6. 14 etc.). Livy, however, frequently uses also the ablative of the gerund with an object, in place of the gerundive (8. 2; 15. 10; 22. 1 etc.); but the dative of the gerund is not so used.

3 § 7. *a quo tale quid*] *Quis* the enclitic indefinite pronoun denotes a hypothetical person (in opposition to *aliquis*, which usually describes a person indefinite but real). *Quis* is especially found after certain conjunctions and adverbs, *si, nisi, ne, num* etc. (§ 9; 5. 5); after the

relative, as here; after relative conjunctions *ubi* (47. 2), *unde* (7. 1); or in combination with *alius* (13. 4; 15. 2; 33. 4; 54. 1).

- 4 *referretur*] Livy uses the subjunctive (imperfect and pluperfect) after *qui*, *quicumque*, *cum*, *ubi*, *seu* etc. to denote indefinite frequency. This use is rare before his time: Cicero, Caesar and Sallust employed the indicative, making no distinction between particular and general conditional (or temporal) sentences. Other examples of this idiom occur below 25. 2 (*ubi clamor ortus esset*); 42. 4 (*quocumque avertisset*); 47. 2; 48. 2.

pro seditionis...habebat] 'treated him as a ringleader of sedition, not (merely) as the narrator of an empty tale'.

- 5 § 8. *quietae res*] 'peaceful news'.

- 7 *conciliis*] See n. on 17. 6.

eam rem] i.e. the question whether the Etruscans as a whole should relieve Veii.

adferebatur] followed by acc. and inf. Verbs of telling, reporting etc. can be used in the passive either with a personal subject and the inf. or impersonally with acc. and inf. The impersonal construction is rare in earlier writers, but frequent in Livy; cf. 8. 10; 21. 16; 33. 2.

ita muniebant] The object (*munimenta*) is expressed in the dependent clause. Trans. 'arranged their siege works so as to have a double defence'.

- 8 § 9. *in urbem*] sc. *Veios*.

- 9 *aliis frons*] *Munimenta* in § 9 denotes both lines of fortifications, *alia...versa* describes the purposes of one of them, and had Livy completed his sentence logically, we should have *alia in Etruriam spectantia quorum frons auxiliis obstruebatur*. The construction is, however, changed, and *obstruebatur*, a principal verb, coordinate with *muniebant* is introduced. *Aliis* is ablative of the instrument, and *auxiliis* dative after *obstruebatur*.

- 10 *si qua...venirent*] The phrase is repeated almost word for word in 5. 5. *Si* introduces a protasis to which the principal verb does not serve as a logical apodosis, = 'in case that' or 'to see whether'; cf. 42. 1. This description of the Roman camp may be an imitation of Thucydides' account of the Spartan camp at Plataea (III. 21. 1) εἶχε μὲν (τὸ τεῖχος) δύο τοὺς περιβόλους, πρὸς τε Πλαταιῶν καὶ εἰ τις ἐξῴθεν ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίλοι. Arnold doubts whether a double line of circumvallation round Veii could have been completed so rapidly, and thinks that there were probably only a series of fortified camps. The description of the attack on the Romans before Veii in ch. 8, shows that Livy had in his

mind two camps, a greater and a smaller (8. 9), with *castella* between them connected by *munitiones*. Until the last year of the war, there does not seem to have been a complete blockade of the town, see n. on 6. 10.

obstruebatur] 'put in the way of': cf. Lucr. v. 752, *a terris altum caput obstruere ei*. In the corresponding passage in 5. 5 *oppono* is used.

CHAPTER II.

- 11 § 1. *spes...in obsidione...esset*] for the more usual *spes posita esset in obsidione...oppugnatione*] 'blockade...assault'. The two methods of prosecuting a siege are frequently contrasted; cf. 12. 5 (*oppida nec oppugnata nec obsessa sunt*); 24. 2 (*non urbes vi aut operibus temptatae*); 43. 4. The *oppugnatio* might be carried out in various ways, by a simultaneous attack on different points, by raising an *agger* (7. 2) opposite some particular part of the walls, or by running mines under the walls: by this latter method Veii is said to have been taken (21. 10). The *obsidio* required siege works to be built round the town, as Livy describes (1. 9).
- 13 *militi Romano*] collective singular. The chief concrete substantives used in a collective sense are *miles* (§ 7), *pedes*, *eques* (7. 12), *hostis* (37. 1), and the names of peoples used either to denote the whole population of a state, or a particular army (8. 9; 13. 13). Livy sometimes uses adjectives as substantives in a collective sense, 21. 12 *inermis*.
aedificari coepta] See n. on 3. 2.
- 14 *hiemando*] 'by keeping in winter quarters'. The subject of the gerund is here not the same as the subject of the sentence, see n. on 26. 3 *differendo*.
continuate] 'to make continuous, prevent interruption of'.
- 15 § 2. *iam diu...invenientibus*] *Iam diu* is used with the participle in the same way as with the present or imperfect indicative, of an action begun previously but still continued; cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* IV. 13. 1 *quaerenti mihi iam diu certa res nulla veniebat in mentem*.
- 16 *novandi res*] in a bad sense 'creating a disturbance, causing a revolt'. Cf. 6. 16 *non quicquam novatum sit*; 20. 7 *novae leges*. So *novae res* is frequently used and νεωτερίαι in Greek. See Introduction § 15 on Livy's treatment of political questions.
- 17 *in contionem prosiliunt*] a graphic phrase. *Contio* is any public meeting called and presided over by a magistrate.

- 18 § 3. *hoc illud esse*] 'this was the reason that'. *Hoc illud esse* is used idiomatically, like *τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο* in Greek, to imply that a previous idea has been confirmed by events.

hoc] In oratio obliqua *ille* regularly takes the place of *hic* and *tunc* of *nunc*. Sometimes however *hic* and *nunc* are retained for vividness just as primary tenses are used instead of secondary (see n. on § 9). Here *hoc* is necessary to avoid ambiguity, but it is found also in § 8; 11. 11; 39. 13.

dictitantes] Livy has a fondness for frequentative verbs (as substitutes for the simple verb), and they are especially frequent in the first ten books. Cf. 8. 2 (*recepto*); 32. 6 (*advento*); 40. 3 (*rogito*).

aera] The plural is used of the different *stipendia*, the pay for each year's service, cf. 3. 4; 4. 7; 7. 12. Hence *aera* is used, like *stipendia*, of the different years of service, Cic. in *Verr.* 11. 5. 33 *omnia istius aera illa vetera*. Pay had been introduced in 406 B.C., and this had made winter campaigns possible.

sint] primary tense, see n. on § 9.

- 20 *inlitum fore*] This form of the infinitive is generally supposed to correspond to the completed future of the indicative; cf. IV. 24. 8 *cum se quisque subiectum fore cerneret*; but Livy seems to use the form merely for the sake of variety.

§ 4. *venisse*] from *veneo*.

- 21 *ablegatum ab urbe*] Cf. IV. 58. 12; the tribunes are there represented as opposing the proclamation of war with Veii, and Livy puts into their mouths very similar sentiments *eam (plebem) procul urbe haberi atque ablegari*. The two passages should be compared.

re publica] = the state in its political aspect.

iuventutem] an abstract substantive in a collective sense, cf. 17. 9; 18. 10; 36. 6; so *aetas* (27. 7) and *nomen* (see n. on 22. 8) are frequently used. *Iuventus* commonly denotes men of military age (from 17 to 45). Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 467 *Troiana iuventus*. So *iuvenes* is used § 5.

- 22 *aut tempori anni*] 'or indeed any season of the year', repeats and emphasises *ne hiemi quidem*. Cf. XXXVI. 10. 8 *nunc hiemem et tempus anni rei bellicae aptum*, and § 12 below *hieme saltem...et aliquo tempore anni*.

ac...ac] not correlative. The first *ac* connects *cedere* and *invisere*, the second, *domos* and *res*.

- 23 § 5. *putarent*] See n. on § 9.

- 25 *per frequentiam*] literally 'by means of the presence in large numbers'. Translate 'if they were present in large numbers'.

- 26 *agi*] *Agere* is used particularly of political agitation, proposing legislation etc. Cf. 49. 8 *tribunis rem agentibus*; 53. 2 *rem actam esse* etc. The substantive *actio* is especially used of a proposal made by a tribune; cf. 24. 7; 29. 1.

eorum] represents *vestris* of *oratio recta*. We should expect *suis*, see n. on 1. 5.

§ 6. *vexari et subigi*] ‘oppressed and downtrodden’.

- 28 *egregiis muris situque naturali*] Cf. 1. 5. 4 where Veii is described as *urbs valida muris ac situ ipso munita*. Veii was built on a steep hill, between the two small streams, which combine to form the Cremera. The strength of the position and the fortifications rendered Veii difficult to subdue, especially as the Romans were not at that time skilled in attacking fortified places.

- 30 § 7. *nivibus pruinisque*] Cf. 6. 3 *per nives ac pruinas*: the plural of substantives denoting physical phenomena is frequently used; cf. 15. 2 *sine ullis caelestibus aquis*, and 6. 4 *aestus, frigora*.

pellibus] the *hibernacula*, huts covered with skins.

- 31 *quae...sit quies*] ‘which usually gives a respite’: see n. on 1. 4.

terra marique] The abl. of *place where* without a preposition or an attribute is generally limited to certain words *terra*, *mari*, *loco* (54. 7), *regione* (8. 7), *via* (49. 6). Livy extends the use to ordinary substantives, see n. on 33. 9.

- p. 3. 1 § 3. *hoc*] See n. on § 3. The partitive genitive *servitutis* is removed as far as possible from the pronoun with which it is used. Cf. 53. 5 and Cic. *pro Arch.* 6. 13 (where *quantum* is separated by an unusual interval from *temporum*).

ante tribuniciam potestatem creatam] ‘before the institution of the tribune’s office’. This combination of a passive participle with a substantive, in a sense equivalent to an abstract verbal substantive with a genitive, is a favourite idiom of Livy’s. It is not often found with a preposition: we have three other instances in this book 25. 7 (*ante conceptum votum*); 10. 10 (*inter*); 28. 7 (*ab*).

- 2 *superbos illos consules*] The consuls were in the first century of the republic the supreme magistrates. The dictator is cited as an extraordinary magistrate, who was at times appointed to supersede the consuls. These officers and the decemvirs, who were only appointed on one occasion for a specific purpose, were all regarded as instruments of the tyrannous aristocracy.

- 3 *triste*] ‘gloomy, stern’.

inportunos] ‘sinister, oppressive’.

4 *ut...facerent*] A clause introduced by *ut* is frequently epexegetic of a preceding neuter pronoun, as here *hoc...ut*; cf. 17. 9; 53. 2.

5 *quod regnum exercerent*] 'such was the tyranny that'. There is no proper antecedent to *quod regnum*. *Hoc servitutis* would naturally be followed by *quod inponerent*.

regnum] To the Romans this word always implied the most hateful associations.

in plebe] see n. on 11. 16.

6 § 9. *quidnam illi...facturi essent*] The rule usually observed for questions in oratio obliqua is that a question, which in oratio recta would be in the second person, is put in the subjunctive, while questions, which would be in the first or third person, are put in the accusative and infinitive. Such questions are usually rhetorical and do not require an answer. Livy generally follows this rule; and in § 4 *putarent* represents *putatis* of direct speech; 24. 5 *cur relegari plebem* represents *cur relegatur plebs*; but the rule is broken here (as *facturi essent* would be *fecissent* in oratio recta) and in 24. 10. Cf. VII. 15. 2 *ecquis sequeretur*.

illi] *tribuni militum*.

consules dictatoresve] 'as consuls or dictators', i.e. 'if they were etc.'

qui fecerint] 'seeing that they had made'. In oratio obliqua, when a speech delivered in past time is reported, primary tenses may be substituted for secondary. The original tenses of direct speech are preserved, and this has the effect of giving emphasis and vividness to the style. Livy however frequently uses primary tenses without any particular design. There are many instances of this in this book, cf. §§ 11, 12; 36. 2, etc.

proconsularem imaginem] The official title of the military tribunes was '*tribuni militum consulari potestate*' (cf. 10. 3). In IV. 7. 1, where Livy mentions the first appointment of these officers, he calls them '*tribuni militum pro consulibus*'.

8 *non...ne...quidem*] double negative; see n. on 4. 4.

in octo tribunis] This is Livy's mistake; see n. on 1. 2.

9 § 10. *antea*] The number of the military tribunes varied, see n. on 1. 2: in the year when they were first appointed there were three (IV. 7. 1; cf. IV. 44. 13).

trina loca] The distributive in the sense of the ordinary numeral, which in prose is usually limited to words which have no singular, is sometimes used with ordinary substantives. Possibly this may mean 'three a year'; cf. VI. 37. 6 *octona loca*.

cum contentione summa] 'using their utmost efforts'.

10 *nunc*] in oratio obliqua for *tunc*; see n. on § 3.

11 *octoiuges*] only used here and in Tertullian: literally 'yoked eight together', 'eight abreast'.

obtinenda] 'maintaining' not 'obtaining'; cf. 10. 11.

in turba haerere] a contemptuous phrase 'be a hanger-on in the crowd'.

12 § 11. *si nihil aliud*] In IV. 3. 3, when Canuleius is urging his proposal to appoint military tribunes, Livy attributes to him a similar argument: *rogationes nostras, quibus quid aliud quam admonemus civis nos eorum esse*.

si nihil aliud] sc. *faciat*. This ellipse is frequent; the expression is analogous to *quid aliud quam*, which occurs in the passage from IV. 3. 3 quoted in the preceding note.

13 *liberos et civis*] emphatic and predicative, 'that those are freemen and fellow citizens, who serve as soldiers'.

14 § 12. *domos ac tecta*] rhetorical pleonasm, 'house and home'.

15 *liberosque ac coniuges*] Livy is arbitrary in his employment of conjunctions; cf. 25. 2 *feririque atque occidi*. Livy does not, as his predecessors did, avoid the use of *ac* before a guttural; cf. 15. 4; 44. 6 (*stationibus ac custodiis*).

16 *usurpare libertatem*] 'exercise their rights as free citizens'; cf. § 4 *venisse libertatem*.

§ 13. *haec taliaque*] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 24 *his atque talibus haud permotus princeps*. Sallust usually says *haec atque alia talia* (*Iug.* 62. 2).

17 *Ap. Claudium*] See n. on 1. 2. Ap. Claudius was not the only tribune left in Rome (7. 12), but he was the advocate of the patrician party.

18 *tribunicias*] = *tribunorum*; see n. on § 14.

19 *inbutum*] lit. 'steeped' in, i.e. 'accustomed to, practised in': a favourite metaphor with Cicero and later writers.

20 *iuventa*] See n. on 40. 1.

§ 14. *auctorem*] does not refer to a formal proposal in the senate, only to the advice which Appius gave to his fellow senators.

auctorem...tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae] Cf. IV. 48. 6, where Appius Claudius is represented as saying that his ancestor the decemvir had shown '*viam unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per conlegarum intercessionem*'. If one or more tribunes were attached to the patrician cause (cf. 25. 1 *partem tribunorum plebi patres in suam sententiam*

traxerant), their power of veto would enable them to stop all the proposals of their colleagues. In the third and second centuries B.C., it was a regular device of senatorial government to employ the tribunes to neutralise one another.

21 *aliquot annis ante*] See n. on 33. 5.

22 *memoratum est*] See n. on *adferebatur* 1. 8.

conlegarum] i.e. *tribunorum* implied in *tribuniciae*. For the use of an adjective in place of a genitive, cf. *muliebris* 40. 3; *militaris* 47. 7; 49. 7.

CHAPTER III.

23 § 1. *tum iam*] *tum* 'on this occasion'; *iam* refers to the words which follow, especially to *usu exercitatus*.

On Livy's speeches see Introduction § 15.

Livy has given the arguments of the tribunes briefly and in indirect speech, but he has elaborated a long oration for Appius Claudius. Possibly he has expanded a speech which he found in one of his authorities. At the beginning of book IV., we have a similar contrast; the speech of the consuls is summarised briefly in *oratio obliqua* (ch. 2), while that of Canuleius is given at length and in *oratio recta* (chs. 3—5).

The following analysis will serve to show the sequence of the different arguments.

The tribunes have always pursued selfish ends, have opposed the interests of the people and striven to disturb the concord between patricians and plebeians (3 §§ 2—6). *By endeavouring to prevent good feeling between the two classes they are unpatriotically obstructing the extension of our empire* (§§ 7—10). *They lately opposed the introduction of pay: they have no right now to complain if increased burdens are laid on those who have received so great an advantage* (4 §§ 1—8). *If the war is to be continued at all it should be carried to a decisive end* (§§ 9—10). *The siege of Troy was carried out under greater difficulties and with less provocation* (§§ 11—12). *The Veientes have revolted and caused our allies to revolt, have murdered our citizens, violated the laws of war and endeavoured to combine all Etruria against us* (§§ 13—14). *If all these considerations do not urge us to great exertions, are we prepared to sacrifice the result of all our labours and to give the enemy an opportunity of attacking us?* (5 §§ 1—3). *The tribunes' proposal would involve the abandonment of all our works which have cost so much labour and time and*

which we should have to restore again in the summer (§§ 4—7). Nay more, by postponing operations, we shall give the Veientes time to conciliate the other Etruscans and their united forces will attack us (§§ 8—11). Such is the effect of the tribunes' proposals which would do permanent harm for the sake of a merely temporary relief (§ 12). Military discipline requires us to persevere and to show in war the same endurance that we show in sport (6 §§ 1—3). Our soldiers are not so effeminate that they cannot endure heat and cold: this was not the character of our ancestors, who founded the power of Rome (§§ 4—5). We must look to the honour and glory of Rome and let other nations know that no obstacles daunt the Roman, that victory is the only end of his warfare (§§ 6—8). Such perseverance is more necessary in carrying out a blockade than in any other kind of warfare, and must lead to the reduction of Veii, unless the tribunes aid the enemy by fostering sedition at Rome (§§ 9—11). Loyalty and discipline prevail at Veii, sedition is punished with instant death. (§§ 12—13). In Rome the tribunes advocate insubordination with absolute impunity, as you are accustomed to give a fair hearing to the most infamous proposals (§§ 14—15). It only remains for them to approach the camp, to corrupt the army, and to abolish all respect for the most sacred institutions of our state (§§ 16—17).

24 § 2. *umquam*] *Quisquam, ullus, umquam* are generally restricted to sentences which are negative (2. 10) or imply a negation (§ 4); they are however sometimes found in conditional clauses suggesting doubt. Usually such clauses imply that the doubt is to be negated (cf. § 9 *si quicquam*, and 33. 1), but here the doubt implies an affirmative: cf. XXIII. 22. 9 *si quid umquam arcani...in curia fuerit*.

27 *desisse dubitari*] When *desino* and *coepe* are used as auxiliaries with an infinitive, they are generally assimilated in voice to the infinitive (2. 1; 12. 6; 17. 1 and 5). Occasionally the active form of these verbs is found with a pass. inf., cf. Hor. *Epist.* II. 3. 21 *amphora coepit institui*; and this is more frequent in the case of *desino*. Seven instances are quoted from Livy; cf. IV. 35. 9 *ubi contemni desissent*; VI. 6. 6 *desierant iam ulla contemni bella*.

certum habeo] Livy uses this phrase (IV. 2. 9) and *pro certo habeo* (II. 15) indifferently.

29 § 3. *potissimum*] emphasises *secundis vestris rebus*, 'above all in the time of your prosperity'.

31 § 4. *dubitet*] *Non dubito*, with acc. and inf. referring to a fact which is doubted, is freely used by Livy; Cicero prefers *quin* with the subjunctive; cf. 5. 3; 38. 4 *haud dubius...fore*.

- p. 4. 1 *vestris*] 'suffered by you'. See Critical Appendix.
si quae forte aliquando] 'whatever they may have been at any time'.
 The phrase has the effect of minimising the *iniuriae*.
aeque quam] Before Livy *aeque ac* was almost invariably used. Livy uses this expression chiefly in negative sentences; cf. 6. 11.
- 2 *cum...constituta sunt*] explains *munere*; see n. on 1. 5.
aela] For the plural see n. on 2. 3.
militantibus] It is characteristic of Livy's style that he extends the use of adjectives and participles as substantives. This use is more common in the plural than in the singular; cf. 4. 1; 15. 4; 21. 11; 22. 3; 38. 7.
- 5 § 5. *dissolvendae...potestatis esse*] For the phrase cf. 2. 14. The genitive of the gerundive with a substantive is used with *esse* as a predicate in a final sense, 'serves to, tends to'; cf. 6. 15; III. 24. 1 *frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse*. The idiom is restricted to Sallust and Livy.
- 6 § 6. *tamquam*] introduces a comparison, and qualifies the substantive, as in 4. 8 *tamquam cum civibus*.
- 7 *artifices improbi*] 'like unprincipled workmen they try and make work for themselves'.
quippe] is frequently used to introduce an inference; 2. 6; 11. 13; 24. 10.
- 8 *ut sit*] is unnecessary, as *aliquid* would be the proper antecedent to *cuius*.
- 9 *adhibeantur*] 'called in'. The word is used in a medical sense; cf. Cic. *Fat.* 12. 29 *medicum adhibere*. The medical metaphor is resumed in 5. 12.
- § 7. *enim*] introduces the question; cf. *quid enim, quidnam* (4. 3).
- 10 *nisi forte*] introduces a principal sentence containing a *reductio ad absurdum*. 'Or are we to suppose'. The speaker at this point turns to address the tribunes directly.
- 13 § 8. *cum servis suis*] The comparison implies that the plebeians are treated by the tribunes like slaves and are not allowed even to receive benefits from the patricians.
- 14 *in eis*] sc. *servis*, 'in their case', see n. on 11. 16.
- 15 *interdictis patribus commercio*] The usual construction of *interdico* (in Cicero and Livy) is the dative of the person and the ablative of the thing, as here.
- 17 *nec*] is found in the sense of *et ne*, if *ut, ne*, or a simple subjunctive

or imperative has preceded; cf. I. 2. 4 *ut animos conciliaret, nec...omnes essent*.

dicto audiens] *Dicto* is a dative of the indirect object, and *audiens* is used as an adjective (no other part of the verb being found with *dicto*).

atque oboediens] adds nothing fresh; it is simply a rhetorical pleonasm; cf. XXIV. 37. 7 *volentes ac non coacti*.

18 § 9. *si quicquam*] See n. on § 2.

civilis sed humani] 'a spark, I do not say of patriotism, but of mere humanity'. Neuter adjectives are not often used as substantives, except in cases where their gender is manifest: in particular the genitive singular of adjectives of the third declension is very rarely so used. Such a genitive is found in combination with a substantive of the second declension here and in XLII. 47. 9 *potior utilis quam honesti cura*. For the genitive of the second declension in this use, cf. 55. 4 *sui alienique discrimine*.

19 *quantum in vobis esset*] This phrase which serves to limit the statement occurs in two other passages in this book (5. 9; 27. 8). This clause is regarded as part of the hypothesis *si...esset*, and *esset* is therefore in the subjunctive.

20 *comitati...obsequio*] 'kindness...compliance'.

21 *oportuit*] The apodosis is in the indicative, although the protasis is in the subjunctive and expresses an unfulfilled condition. Roby § 1529 says "The auxiliaries *possum*, *licet*, *oportet*, etc. are used in the indicative because they express not hypothetically but absolutely the existence of power, will, lawfulness etc." Cf. 4. 9 *oportuit*; 33. 1 *potuerat*.

§ 10. *quae concordia*] The relative refers to the substantives *comitas* and *obsequium*, which, taken in connection, imply *concordia*.

22 *ausit*] archaic form for *ausus sit*, used by Livy always in negative sentences (except VI. 40. 5 *illud contendere ausim*). He employs other archaisms such as *faxo*, *duit*, *duellum* etc., either taking them without change from his authorities, or wishing to give an archaic character to his diction.

CHAPTER IV.

23 § 1. *quam...fuerit*] after *disseram*, in much the same sense as the acc. and inf., which is the more usual construction; cf. IV. 24. 6 *ut sciatis quam mihi imperia placeant*.

24 *a Veis*] See n. on *a Delphis*, 16. 1.

29 § 2. *disceptante*] 'judging, deciding', cf. III. 40. 11 *senatu disceptante*.

videri posse] This periphrasis is commonly used instead of the future infinitive of *videor*.

31 *contentus essem*] I should be quite content with the arguments of my adversaries because they would refute themselves.

p. 5. 1 § 3. *quia numquam data essent*] The mood is oblique, the reason is regarded as part of the tribunes' statement. Appius Claudius is made to misrepresent the objection of the tribunes. In IV. 60. 4 the chief argument of the tribunes is that pay can only be raised by imposing additional taxes on the people.

2 *igitur*] does not introduce a strictly logical conclusion. The argument seems to be, 'now that pay *has* been introduced, they have no right to object, if certain services are expected, in return for this new benefit'.

3 *commodi*] used as a substantive and qualified by an adjective like a substantive proper; cf. 52. 17 *tanto incommodo*.

4 § 4. *nusquam nec*] The double negative is used for the sake of emphasis, cf. 2. 9 *non...ne...quidem*, 38. 5 *nihil...non*.

6 *dissimillima*] An adjective referring to two substantives of different genders, which both denote things, usually agrees with the nearest if it is a mere attribute, and is neuter if it is a predicate. This rule Livy follows in 44. 4 (*corpora animosque magna quam firma*, where the adjectives are predicative). Here *dissimillima*, although attributive, is assimilated in gender to the predicate *iuncta*. In 19. 1 (*Iudi Latinaeque instauratae erant*); 23. 1 (*vatum responsa et Pythicae sortes notae fuerant*) Livy does not follow the rule. See also n. on 15. 12.

inter se] 'one to the other'. *Inter se* does duty for the oblique cases of a reciprocal pronoun, which is wanting in Latin.

7 § 5. *suo sumptu*] Cf. IV. 52. 11; up to 406 each man had served *de suo*.

8 *idem*] 'at the same time'; the pronoun is often used in place of an adverb to corroborate or mark a contrast.

9 *quaerere unde*] The object of *quaerere* is unexpressed, but *unde* = *id ex quo*.

domi militiaeque] 'at home and abroad', locatives frequently used in combination; cf. 10. 1.

11 § 6. *laetus*] The adjective qualifies the verb, and should be translated, 'gladly', or 'is glad to'. There are many instances of this in Livy, cf. § 8 *invitus*; 16. 10 *insiste audax*; 29. 10 *taciti tulissent*.

- 12 *patiatur*] gives the conclusion. The preceding clauses *gaudebat... gaudet...* might have been stated as conditions.
- 13 § 7. *ad calculos...vocat*] 'come to a reckoning with him'. *Calculi* are the pebbles of the *abacus* used in calculating and the metaphor is commercial; cf. Cic. *Lael.* 16. 58 *ad calculos vocare amicitiam, ut par sit ratio acceptorum et datorum*.
- 14 *annua aera*] See n. on 2. 3. The soldiers were given a year's pay (*solidum stipendium*) if the campaign lasted more than six months, and pay for half a year, if for less than six months.
- 15 *ede*] 'perform', cf. III. 63. 3 *fortium virorum opera edebant*: see n. on 13. 11.
- 18 § 8. *mercenario milite*] The Roman soldiers are not regarded as mercenaries, for they did not make a profession of military service, and the pay was only intended as compensation for the expenses of the campaign (cf. § 5 *antea suo sumptu operam praebere*).
cum civibus] Citizens are contrasted with mercenaries who have no *patria*.
- 19 *agi*] The change of voice is natural, as the passive is preferred after impersonal verbs.
cum patria] The speaker regards himself as the representative of the state, and the mention of *patria* aids the transition to the next point,—the honour of the fatherland is at stake.
- 20 § 9. *oportuit*] an unfulfilled hypothesis, in the indicative, as *debuisset* in § 10; see n. on 3. 9.
- 21 *pro dignitate*] The same idea is expressed in 23. 11 by *ex dignitate*.
- 23 § 10. *urgemus*] present used for the future, of an action already begun, 'if we continue our blockade'.
obsessos] used as a substantive; see n. on 26. 9.
ante...quam] with final subjunctive, as in 19. 11.
- 24 *hercules*] To add emphasis to a statement the form *hercule* is more usual; cf. 3. 6; 5. 12; 6. 12. Cic. *Or.* 47. 157 explains that *hercule* is a corruption of *hercules*. The full expression would be *me hercules iuvet* analogous to *me dius fidius* (6. 1).
- 25 *nulla alia causa*] The predicate of the protasis, being identical with that of the apodosis, is not expressed.
- 26 § 11. *decem quondam annos*] The reference to the siege of Troy in the mouth of Appius Claudius is an anachronism as the legend of the Trojan war was not familiar to the Romans at this period. With Greek writers the Trojan war was a stock subject for rhetorical contrasts. Cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* § 181 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρόν...τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰ Τρωικὰ

γενομένων μιᾷ γυναικὸς ἀρπασθείσης οὕτως ἅπαντας συνοργισθῆναι κ.τ.λ. The Roman annalists probably made use of the comparison, and may have adapted the story of the siege of Veii in consequence.

27 *quam procul ab domo*] We have here a form of rhetorical inference, common in Cicero and Livy. The first sentence introducing an admitted fact (which is here stated interrogatively) is followed by an indignant question. Cf. 6. 3; 52. 4 and 8; 53. 9, and Cic. *pro Arch.* 8. 17.

28 § 12. *intra vicesimum lapidem*] Livy is understating his argument, as Veii was only twelve and a half miles from Rome.

29 *lapidem*] Stones were erected at a later period to mark distances of a mile on the different roads from Rome; cf. 37. 7 *ad undecimum lapidem*.

30 *scilicet*] an ironical answer to the question in the preceding clause.

p. 6. 1 § 13. *septies rebellarunt*] The different clauses enumerating the grounds of resentment are introduced without any connecting particles. The asyndeton heightens the effect.

septies] This war ranked as the eighth; altogether Livy enumerates nine wars with Veii, four under the Kings and five under the Republic.

in pace fida] For the expression cf. 17. 8 *pax satis fida*. On former occasions armistices had been made with Veii, but they had been generally loyally observed.

2 *Fidenatis*] Fidenae revolted from Rome in 438, and at the instigation of the king of Veii four Roman ambassadors were slain (IV. 17. 2). Ten years later colonists were again sent from Rome (IV. 30. 6), and the people of Fidenae again rose and murdered them (IV. 31. 7).

3 § 14. *ibi*] at Fidenae.

4 *auctores fuere*] IV. 17. 2 *iussu Tolumni*: this and the events referred to in § 13 happened before the armistice concluded in 425 (IV. 25. 2), and were not therefore the direct cause of the present war.

6 *res repetentis*] 'demanding satisfaction', a formal phrase.

haud procul afuit quin] So Cicero has *aberit non longe quin...velit* (*ad Att.* IX. 9. 3); *nihil abest quin* (*ib.* XI. 15. 3). Livy has also *procul esse* with *quin*, see n. on 12. 7. The expressions are always impersonal in Classical Latin.

CHAPTER V.

7 § 1. *molliter et per dilationes*] Livy studies variety, and combines adverbs with adverbial phrases, gerunds with abstract substantives etc.

per dilationes] plural of an abstract substantive denoting manner or means; cf. § 7 *per intermissiones*. The phrase is similar to the Greek ἐς ἀναβολάς, which occurs in Hdt. and Thuc.

8 *oportet*] returns to 4. 9 *bellum...perfici quam primum oportet* and serves as a transition to the next argument.

9 *illa*] refers to what follows, as in *Praef.* 9; IV. 55. 8; XXII. 59. 13. ἐκεῖνα is similarly used in Greek.

11 § 2. *agrum*] the general term, opposed to *culta*, those parts which had been previously cultivated.

13 § 3. *a cupiditate*] The preposition *a* is frequently used in Livy (not in Cicero or Caesar) to denote internal or external cause. There are many examples in this book, 47. 11 (*ab memoria*) internal cause as here; 28. 7 (*ab re bene gesta*); 44. 6 (*ab secundis rebus*), external.

14 *ex alieno*] For the use of the neuter singular of an adjective in phrases formed with prepositions see n. on 43. 2.

15 *isto consilio*] addressed to the tribunes; *iste* is often used for *tuus* or *vester* with a notion of contempt; cf. § 12 *vestra consilia*.

17 § 4. *quibus*] dat. both with *extorquere* and *consultum*.

18 *consultum volunt*] 'whose interests they wish to see protected'. The passive participle without *esse* is frequently used as a predicate with *do*, *habeo*, *volo* etc.; cf. Cic. *de Fin.* III. 17 *liberis consultum volumus*.

20 § 5. *per tantum spati*] In Latin a neuter adjective or pronoun followed by a partitive genitive is often found where an adjective in agreement would be expected: cf. § 6 *tantum laboris*; 39. 6 *hoc consili*.

21 *munitiones*] abstract for concrete=*munimenta*; this passage is almost a repetition of 1. 8—9. See the nn. there on the credibility of Livy's account. This speech has of course no historical value.

22 *spectantis si qua*] Cf. 1. 9 and see n. there.

23 § 6. *quid...loquar*] a form of rhetorical transition; cf. 52. 7. Other expressions used in the same way are *quid* § 4; *quid tandem* 52. 13; *loquor* § 8; 52. 13; *ne loquar* 54. 5.

24 *vineas testudinesque*] These and the *agger* (mentioned in 7. 2) were appliances used for attacking fortified places. The *vineae* and *testudines* were sheds, of wood and skins, covered at the top and sides, but open at the ends, which were pushed up to the walls of a town, to enable the attacking party to use the battering ram, or to dig mines, while sheltered from the missiles of the defenders. For *testudo* in another sense see n. on 43. 2.

25 *exhaustum sit*] *Exhaurire* with *labores*, *pericula* etc. = spend, undergo.

Cf. XXI. 21. 8; 30. 9 *quid laboris exhaustum esse*; Verg. *Aen.* IX. 356 *poenarum exhaustum satis est*; X. 57 *exhausta pericula*.

27 *ad aetatem*] For *ad* in expressions of time cf. *ad vesperum, ad praestitutam diem* (III. 22. 4).

rursus novus de integro] *Rursus* suggests repetition, and *novus de integro* a fresh beginning. For the pleonasm *novus de integro* cf. XXII. 5. 7 *nova de integro pugna exorta est*.

28 *exsudetur*] a rare metaphor; cf. IV. 13. 4 (*certamen*); Hor. *Sat.* I. 10. 28 *cum Pedius causas exsudet*.

29 § 7. *et...ac...que*] The four infinitives group themselves in pairs which are connected by *ac*.

defungi cura] 'get quit of our anxiety'; *defungi* is used absolutely in II. 12.

31 *lentiores...facimus*] 'make the fulfilment of our hopes more tardy'; cf. 6. 2 *si res lentior sit*.

p. 7. 1 § 8. *iactura*] The word is specially used of throwing goods overboard to lighten a ship in distress; hence it acquires the meaning of a sacrifice made voluntarily (as in § 11; 39. 12) although sometimes it simply=loss, as in XXII. 8. 2.

3 *haec...concilia*] Cf. 1. 8, news was brought to Rome that the subject was being debated.

4 § 9. *irati sunt, oderunt*] sc. *Etrusci Veientis*; neither subject nor object is expressed.

5 *quantum in illis est*] See n. on 3. 9. *quantum...est...licet* is equivalent to the common phrase *per illos...licet*.

7 § 10. *si dederis*] The second person singular is used of an indefinite subject.

laxamentum] Cf. II. 24. 5 *si sit laxamenti aliquid*.

maior frequentiorque] 'more important and more numerous'.

12 § 11. *quot res, quam inutiles*] Cf. 51. 6. Instead of the double interrogative we should employ in English one interrogative, and an adjective; 'How many things so injurious to our interests'.

viam consilii] This phrase occurs also in IV. 48. 4; XXVIII. 28. 8.

13 *iactura...vastatio*] attracted into the case of *quot res* instead of being in the accusative after *videte*.

14 *finium*] with *vastatio* not with *imminens*.

Veiente] Livy uses both forms of the abl. *i* or *e*; cf. *Capenate*, 12. 5; *Veienti...et Capenati*, 16. 2.

16 § 12. *curari...passus*] conditional=*si...passus sit*. *Fortiter* must be taken with *curari* 'if he submitted to undergo strict treatment'.

- 17 *praesentis*] The adjective which is more appropriate to *gratia* is transferred to the dependent substantive.

longinquum] 'lasting'. *longinquus* is used both of time (II. 5; 15. 5) and of distance (32. 7); cf. VII. 29. 2 *longinquitas vel regionum vel temporum*.

- 18 *forsitan*] here qualifies a single word *insanabilem*, = *quae forsitan insanabilis sit*, see n. on 15. 10.

CHAPTER VI.

§ 1. *dius fidius*] 'the god of good faith' invoked to attest the truth of an assertion, was the Sabine god *Semo Sancus* (cf. Ov. *Fast.* VI. 213 *Quaerebam, Nonas Sanco Fidione referrem, An tibi Sance pater*). He was identified with Hercules, and on this account Hercules was also invoked; see n. on 4. 10.

si...pertineret...intererat] In this conditional sentence the apodosis is stated as a fact, not as an hypothesis dependent on the protasis; see n. on 3. 9.

- 20 *insuescere*] Livy uses *adsuesco* in § 15, and the simple verb (*suetus*) in 43. 8.

- 22 § 2. *etiam*] with *lentior*.

- 23 *quamvis serae*] The adjective is transferred to *spes* when it would more naturally go with *exitum*: 'the issue of our hopes, however late the fulfilment'; cf. the English phrase "hope deferred".

- 24 *aestivas avis*] 'birds of passage'.

- 25 *statim*] must be taken in close connection with *autumno*: 'immediately on the approach of autumn'.

§ 3. *obsecro vos*] an appeal to his hearers to give attention to his statements and admit their truth. It is found in IV. 3. 9; Cic. *de Fin.* II. 21; cf. *oro vos*, 5. 1. On the form of the sentence see n. on 4. 11.

- 28 *lusus ac voluptas*] are regarded as forming one idea and therefore have a verb in the singular.

- 29 § 4. *adeo...adeo*] Notice the emphatic repetition, a device of which Livy makes considerable use, cf. § 17 (*non*); 15. 11 (*sic*); 53. 5 (*hoc*).

- 31 *tamquam*] with the subjunctive = *tamquam si*.

- p. 8. 2 *aestus...frigora*] see n. on 2. 7 and cf. 31. 5 *calores*.

- 4 § 5. *iuxta...atque*] = *pariter...atque*; cf. XXI. 33. 4 *iuxta invia ac devia*.

- 5 *patrocinium*] This word, which occurs in II. 1, originally meant the duty of a patron to his client; it was extended to denote protection or

defence of any sort, and Cicero uses it especially of defence in the law courts.

- 6 *mollitiae inertiaeque*] Words denoting abstract qualities are used in place of adjectives describing the people possessing them; cf. *inopium*, 39. 13.
- 7 *in umbra*] is opposed to *aestus*, *aestate*; *in tectis* to *frigora*, *hieme*. Cf. the use of *umbratilis*=milk-sop.
- 8 § 6. *Romano nomine*] 'the Roman race'; see n. on 22. 8.
- 9 *non Veios...quaerere*] is explanatory of *haec*, just as in the next section *utrum tandem* etc. explains *ex hac re*.
- 10 *ad*] with *bella*=for, with *populos* it is used in the sense of *apud*.
- 11 § 7. *an mediocre discrimen*] The sentence thus begun is carried on without a break to the end of § 8: the parallel clauses introduced by *utrum...an* explain *ex hac re*.
- 12 *opinionis*] *Opinio* is used in the sense of *existimatio* (reputation). It is so used in Cic. *pro Sull.* 10; *Orat.* 76.
- 13 *eum cuius*] emphatic=*talem ut eius*.
- 14 *illum*] The demonstrative is sometimes used with scarcely more emphasis than the article in English. Here it generalises 'the usual, ordinary attack'.
- 18 § 8. *noverit*] The object of the previous clause becomes the subject.
- 19 *inpetu...perseverantia*] ablatives without epithets used in an adverbial sense; cf. XLII. 29. 11 *inpetu magis quam consilio*. The ablative of manner without an adjectival predicate is limited in Cicero and Caesar to a few special words (*ratione*, *consilio*). Livy extends the use; cf. 54. 1 *si fraude, si casu incendium ortum sit*. See n. on 41. 5.
- 22 § 9. *munitionibus ac naturali situ*] Veii was described in 2. 6 *egregiis muris situque naturali*.
- 23 *tempus...vincit*] Notice the personification.
- 24 § 10. *sicut Veios expugnabit*] Veii did not succumb to famine, and the fact that the city endured a ten years' siege, makes it unlikely that the Romans ever rendered their blockade complete.
- nisi...quaerunt*] The speaker returns to the subject with which his speech began, the factious and unpatriotic action of the tribunes.
- 27 § 11. *aeque...quam*] See n. on 3. 4.
- 29 *velut ex contagione inpleantur*] 'should be infected as if from contagion'. The comparison of sedition to a disease, which spreads by contagion is frequent. Cf. 12. 7 *seditionis contagione*; IV. 9. 10 *contacta rabie plebs*; 11. 34. 1 *sanata discordia*. Tacitus uses *contactus*

of mutiny (*Ann.* I. 43). With *inpleo* in this sense cf. ἀναπλήρημι in Greek.

- 30 § 12. *modestia*] 'discipline, respect for law' (opposed to *libido*); cf. IV. 52. 10 *modestia tribunorum*.

non denique] 'nor indeed'. *Denique*, which usually introduces a climax, is sometimes employed to emphasize the second of two clauses, if it contains the utmost that can be said for or against a particular argument; cf. IV. 52. 11 *non civium non denique hominum numero*.

- 31 *quicquam...novatum sit*] See n. on 2. 2.

- p. 9. 3 § 14. *fustuarium*] This was a form of execution inflicted on deserters by their comrades, which was very similar to running the gauntlet; cf. *Cic. Phil.* III. 6. 14.

- 4 *praesidio*] abl. of place whence without a preposition after *decedit*: so Livy uses *emitto* (51. 7); *demitto* (54. 7).

- 5 *uni aut alteri*] 'one or two'; cf. *Hor. Ars Poet.* 15 *Unus et alter adsuitur pannus*.

- 6 *militi...exercitibus*] The datives are dependent on *auctores* (= *qui auctores sunt, suadent*).

- 7 § 15. *adeo*] used not with a single word, but confirming and justifying the previous sentence: cf. 38. 4; 41. 8.

prodendae patriae...est] See n. on 3. 5.

- 8 *aequi*] predicate: 'with patience', or perhaps 'with even favour'; see Critical Appendix.

- 10 § 16. *reliquum est ut*] Cf. the common expression *restat ut*.

hic] in Rome. The power of the tribunes of the *plebs* was at this period limited to the city and a circuit of one mile without the walls. In the camp they would have been subject to the *imperium* of the magistrates.

- 13 § 17. *non*] repeated six times; see n. on § 4.

senatum...militiae] The *senatus* and *magistratus* imply the executive government, the *leges* and *mores* the constitution (whether the written statutes or the unwritten precedents); *instituta* sums up these four elements and the civil institutions are then contrasted with the laws of military discipline.

- 14 *mores maiorum*] The Romans had a great respect for the customs of their ancestors, and were always strongly influenced by precedent. *Mores* are often combined or contrasted with *leges* (cf. I. 19. 1 *legibus ac moribus*).

CHAPTER VII.

- 16 § 1. *etiam*] with *in contionibus*. It is implied that hitherto Appius had attacked the tribunes in the senate house, where he would have the full sympathy of his audience.
- 17 *unde...crederet*] This should probably be taken generally, and not with *apud Veios*: 'from a cause, from which no one could expect such a result'. For the mood and tense of *crederet* cf. XXII. 24. 4 *quod minime quis crederet*.
- 21 § 2. *agger*] In attacking a fortified place, a mound of earth was often thrown up, and gradually brought near to the walls of the city. This enabled the besiegers to attack the defenders on the walls from the same level.
vineae] See n. on 5. 6.
- 22 *tantum non*] like the Greek ὅσον οὐ, 'all but'.
- 24 *maxime*] 'most of them'; cf. 40. 5 *alia maxime plebis turba*.
- 25 § 3. *horaeque momento*] 'in one brief hour'. The phrase occurs in Hor. *Sat.* 1. 1. 7 *horae momento cita mors venit*, and elsewhere. In 21. 12 we have *momento temporis* 'in a brief space of time'. *Momentum* with *horae* or *temporis* often has the same meaning as *punctum temporis* in Cicero.
aggerem] The mound must have been strengthened and held together with woodwork, which was capable of being set on fire. Wood was generally used in siege works; cf. XXXIX. 4. 9 *incensis operibus*.
- 26 *hausit*] 'consumed, destroyed'; cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV. 60 *cunctos incendium hausit*.
- 27 *mortales*] is used by Livy as a simple equivalent for *homines*; cf. 16. 6; 36. 4. Cicero only uses it with an attribute such as *multi, omnes* etc.
- 29 § 4. *tum vero*] This phrase usually marks a climax in the narrative; it is rarely used, as it is here, in a dependent clause.
- p. 10. 1 § 5. *census equester*] This phrase is inappropriate as applied to this period. From the time of Servius Tullius a number of the younger men in the first class of the Comitia Centuriata were chosen by the censors to form the 18 *centuriae equitum*, and these were at first the only cavalry in the Roman army. They received from the state a sum of money to purchase horses (*aes equestre*) and a yearly allowance (*aes hordearium*). From this date the number of the cavalry was increased and the distinction between the *equites equo publico* (the original

eighteen *centuriae*) and the *equites equo privato* arose. Henceforth the citizens whose property qualified them for service in the cavalry were said to have the *census equester*; but the expression, as used here by Livy, is an anachronism.

- 3 *factaque dicendi potestate*] It was necessary for a magistrate to introduce non-senators and obtain for them leave to address the senate.

equis suis] There were henceforth (§ 13) a number of *equites equo privato*. These served with their own horses, were enrolled by the consuls and entitled to receive pay for their services, but they had not the privileges of the 18 *centuriae*.

stipendia] from meaning 'military pay', came to mean 'military service, campaigns'; see n. on 2. 3 *aera*.

- 5 § 6. *fama ea*] = *fama eius rei*. 'Is in agreement with a substantive is frequently used as a substitute for an objective or partitive genitive or a prepositional phrase; cf. 17. 10 *eum numerum* (= *eorum*); 25. 7 *ea disceptatio* (= *de ea re*).

- 6 § 7. *pedestris ordinis*] This is not a technical phrase like *ordo equester*. It is used here for the four lower classes who were liable to serve as foot soldiers. In the next line *ordinem* is used in a totally different sense.

pedestris ordinis...esse] See Critical Appendix.

- 8 *si...ducti sint*] The perfect subj. in oratio obliqua represents the future perfect of oratio recta.

- 9 *prius quam capta urbe*] *prius quam* is used elliptically with an ablative absolute.

- 12 § 8. *laudari iussi*] The passive verbs *iubeor* and *prohibeor* are often used with passive infinitives and a personal subject, where the impersonal passive would be more logical. Trans. 'orders were given that etc.'; cf. 50. 5 and 6 and XXII. 60. 3 (*nec prohibendos redimi*).

- 14 § 9. *ex superiore loco...in comitio*] A great part of the forum was consecrated by the augurs, and set apart for public purposes (*comitium*). On the north side of this was the *Curia Hostilia*, the ordinary place of meeting for the senate, and on the raised space in front of the *Curia* the senators addressed the people assembled below.

- 16 § 10. *invictam*] 'invincible'.

- 17 *concordia*] ablative of cause.

- 18 *laudibus ferre*] for the phrase cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* IX. 14. 1 *te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt*; Juv. 6. 182 *laudibus efferre*.

- 19 § 11. *plebei*] See n. on 10. 3.

- 25 § 12. *aera procedere*] 'pay should begin to be reckoned'. The

soldiers were paid in a lump sum in proportion to the length of the campaign; see n. on 4. 7.

equiti] collective; see n. on 2. 1.

certus numerus aeris] The *equites* received pay three times as great as that of the foot-soldiers, see 12. 12.

CHAPTER VIII.

p. 11. 2 § 1. *Q. Servilium*] His cognomen was *Fidenas* (14. 5), and he held the office of military tribune altogether six times.

6 § 2. *Anxuri*] locative. Anxur, situated on the south coast of Latium, and a position of some importance, had been captured by the Romans in 406 (IV. 59).

vacationibus...receptando] This combination of an abstract substantive with a gerund is an instance of Livy's love of variety; cf. 17. 1; 19. 2; 27. 2 (*lusus exercendique causa*).

7 *mercatores receptando*] See n. on 1. 6.

vulgo] 'indiscriminately'.

11 § 4. *quod tum caput*] 'which was then the centre of all public interests'. A relative usually agrees in number and gender with a predicate noun in its own clause, if the antecedent is of different gender or number.

15 § 5. *regione*] 'in situation', explains *proximi*, and is not used in a locative sense, as it is in § 7.

devictis Veis] equivalent to a conditional clause, 'if Veii were conquered'.

17 § 6. *Fidenati bello*] The Falisci are mentioned as having brought aid to Fidenae in 437 (IV. 17. 11).

18 *ultro citroque*] *Citro* is always used in connexion with *ultro*, and is always placed after it. The expression means 'backwards and forwards, reciprocally'; cf. *Caes. B. G. 1. 42 ultro citroque legati inter eos mittuntur*.

19 *necopinato*] See n. on 11. 7.

20 § 7. *ea regione*] abl. of place without a preposition; see n. on 2. 7.

23 *crediderant*] The pluperfect, where we should rather expect the perfect, emphasizes the connexion of cause and effect; cf. § 13 (*occupaverant*); 18. 11 (*crediderant*); 42. 8 (*abalienaverant*); 45. 1 (*persuasum erat*).

- 25 § 8. *transferrent*] The subject is *Romani*. In their panic they attacked one post after another without any proper plan.
- 26 *munitiones*] and *munimentis* are used in the same sense; see n. on 5. 5. *Munitiones* refers to the fortifications of the Veientes, *munimenta* to the Roman camp, assaulted on the outside.
- 28 § 9. *spes erat, si*] The sentence is elliptical, 'their only hope was (that they might defend themselves) if etc.'
- 29 *Capenatem ac Faliscum*] collective singular; see n. on 2. 1.
- 31 *invisus*] passive, *infestus* active. Their hatred was reciprocal.
- p. 12. 2 § 10. *si opus foret auxilio*] Evidently a proposal was made to send help, which Verginius answered in this way.
- 6 § 12. *in medio*] between the two attacking forces.
- 8 *pertenderunt*] without *viam* or *cursum*; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 32 *pertendit ad alteram ripam*.
- 10 *interea*] 'and that in his absence his lieutenants should take command'. In later times magistrates on military service usually had several *legati* on their staff; but it is doubtful whether these officers had been instituted at this date.
- placuit*] a word frequently used of the resolutions of the senate.
- 12 § 13. *huic atque illi*] Supply *plerique*.
- quosque*] The plural of *quisque* here refers to two sets of people, and is therefore quite regular; cf. XXII. 46. 1 *Hannibal, ...ut quosque traduxerat* (each division of his troops), *ita in acie locabat*.
- 13 *occupaverat*] See Critical Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

- 15 § 1. *essel*] The mood is oblique and depends on *censuere*. The leading members of the senate did not wish to decide the question of culpability.
- 16 *iustum tempus*] 'the regular date'. At this period the elections took place a little while before the day for entering on office, see n. on § 3.
- 18 *occiperent*] 'begin', a word found in Plautus and Terence and used by Livy in § 8; II. 11; 32. 1 instead of the regular word *inire* (*magistratum*).
- 19 § 2. *cum pedibus iretur*] 'when a division was being taken'. A decree of the senate could be passed in two ways, by asking the opinion of each senator in turn (of which we have an example in ch. 20. 4) or by a division of the senators (*per discessionem*). In the latter case the senators

were said *pedibus ire in sententiam*, or *in sententiam discedere* (III. 41. 1).

20 § 3. *at enimvero*] marks a strong contrast. *Verum enimvero* is more usual.

22 *primo*] before the vote was taken ; *deinde* after the decree had been passed.

intercedere] A *senatus consultum* had not by itself the force of law : it was in theory only a direction to the magistrate, which he might refuse to carry out.

23 *idus Decembris*] This had been the regular day for consuls and consular tribunes to enter office since 444 ; see Introduction p. xxviii, n. 1.

sollemnem diem] 'the formal day', which marked the beginning of the official year.

24 *honore abituros esse*] In the theory of the Roman constitution abdication was, even at the end of the term of office, a voluntary act, and if a magistrate refused to abdicate there was no legal method of compelling him to do so.

§ 4. *inter haec*] See n. on 16. 3.

25 *secundis rebus civitatis*] Cf. IV. 55. 5 *ea adversa civitatis res viris tribuniciae actioni adiecit*.

26 *inviti...feroces*] used in an adverbial sense.

28 *in vincula*] A similar threat is attributed to the tribunes in IV. 26. 9.

30 § 5. *ne*] affirmative is generally found with a personal or demonstrative pronoun, which it almost invariably precedes.

quam non...esset] 'put to the proof, how these (threats) lack authority, as much as you lack spirit'.

experirer...sed] The hypothesis would be naturally followed by a conditional clause ; the construction is, however, changed and the condition expressed as a fact.

p. 13. 2 § 6. *nostra certamina*] an instance of patrician pride ; the tribunes are supposed to have no concern in a dispute between the senate and the supreme magistrates.

3 *pertinacius tendent*] 'persist in their obstinacy', refers back to *tendere adversus auctoritatem* at the beginning of the section.

4 *extemplo dicam*] an exaggeration ; a dictator was usually nominated by a consul or a consular tribune only after a decree of the senate.

5 *cogat*] A dictator could not in theory compel abdication, but as he had unrestricted power of life and death, he could practically constrain the other magistrates to do his bidding.

- 6 § 7. *terriculis*] a rare word, quoted by the grammarians as occurring in Attius and Afranius. Livy uses it also in XXXIV. 11. 7.
- 8 § 8. *victi*] the tribunes in question, Sergius and Verginius.
comitia...habuere] 'they allowed the election to be held'; there would be only one officer formally presiding.
- 9 *se...magistratu abdicavere*] This is the usual construction of *abdicō*, cf. 31. 8; in 49. 9 however *dictaturam abdicare* is found (a construction which is first met with in Sallust).

CHAPTER X.

- 11 § 1. *iterum*] a mistake corrected in 14. 5. See n. on 1. 2.
- 16 § 2. *ad Capenam et ad Falerios*] The Romans had apparently taken the aggressive against these places to retaliate for their attack (8. 5) and to prevent them for the future from sending relief to Veii.
- 18 § 3. *dilectu*] a word such as *habendo* must be supplied from *conferendo*, which is appropriate only to *tributo*.
- 19 *plebi*] There were two forms of the stem of this word, *plebs* and *plebes*; the latter prevails in inscriptions down to the Augustan period. Besides *plebs*, and its regular inflections, we have the following forms in Livy, nominative, *plebes* 12. 3; genitive, *plebi* (representing *plebei*) here and 25. 1; dative, *plebei* 7. 11 and XXV. 12. 10.
cooptandis] *Cooptare* denotes the election of a magistrate by other magistrates holding the same office, when through any cause their number was not complete.
- 21 § 4. *omnium primum*] 'the tribunes made it their first care'. *Primum* is here an adjective, in 50. 1 where the phrase occurs it is an adverb.
- 22 *iuniores*] men of military age from 18 to 44, *seniores* men who had performed their active service, but who could still be called upon for the defence of the city (between the years of 45 and 60).
- 23 *nomina dare*] = to offer themselves for service.
custodiam agerent] a periphrasis for the verb like φυλακὴν ποιεῖσθαι.
- § 5. *quantum*] The accusative of *tantum*, *quantum* etc., is sometimes found with comparative adjectives (*aliquantum amplior*, 1. 7. 9) or with verbs containing a comparative idea, instead of the more usual ablative of difference. For other examples of this use cf. 21. 14 (*aliquantum maior*); 23. 4; 36. 4 (*quantum praestarent*).
- 25 *conficiebatur*] See Critical Appendix.
- 26 *tuentibus*] 'while protecting the city'.

29 § 6. *ideo aera*] Cf. 2. 3 *hoc illud esse dictitantes quod aera militibus sint constituta.*

31 § 7. *annum iam tertium*] 'already for a third year', i.e. 'already for three years' a common idiom; cf. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 3. 7 *ab illo tempore annum iam tertium et vicesimum regnat.* The war had really been going on for five years (see n. on 1. 1), but the tribunes are only taking into account the three years since the town was first blockaded.

p. 14. 1 *gerant*] The primary tense is here used in contrast to *conficerent*. *Conficerent* states the purpose of an action which is entirely past from the point of view of the tribunes: *gerant* of an action which is relatively present. Primary tenses occur throughout the rest of the speech.

3 *pueros ac senes*] probably a rhetorical exaggeration.

5 § 8. *vectigalis*] 'liable to tribute, tributary'. The word is contemptuous as it was usually applied to the subjects of Rome; cf. XXI. 41. 7 *vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus populi Romani.*

ad ultimum] The *tributum* (a tax on property usually raised to meet the expenses of war) had been instituted for centuries (I. 43. 13), but the point of the tribunes' complaint is that the present tax is the last straw to the overburdened *plebs*.

7 § 9. *incultaque omnia*] It was a great grievance to the plebeians, most of whom were small farmers, that military service interrupted agriculture, and that on their return from a campaign their farms had usually gone out of cultivation.

desiderio] 'need of a master's care'.

11 § 10. *Inter...occupatos animos*] 'While men's feelings were engaged'. *Inter* is used to denote the attendant circumstances. On the construction see n. on 2. 8.

12 *numerus expleri nequii*] We are not told how this happened. Livy attributes it below (II. 3; 12. 2) to the intrigues of the patricians; possibly a sufficient number of candidates did not present themselves, or the presiding officer may have refused to accept the names of those whom the plebeians wished to elect.

14 *ut patricii cooptarentur*] This was doubly illegal. Cooptation was forbidden (see n. on next section) and the patricians had always been strictly excluded from the office of tribune (II. 33. 1 *neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret*).

§ 11. *postquam...non poterat*] *Postquam*, which is found most regularly with the perfect indicative, is frequently used with the imperfect, especially in negative sentences, to denote an attempted action; cf. 12. 6; 39. 2.

- 15 *legis Treboniae*] See Critical Appendix. By the Lex Trebonia passed in 448 (III. 65. 3), cooptation was forbidden, and it was enacted that the presiding magistrate should continue to receive votes until all ten tribunes were elected.

CHAPTER XI.

- 18 § 1. *cui*] i.e. Trebonio; see Critical Appendix.
nomini ac familiae] The duty was regarded as hereditary; in IV. 52. 2 Livy speaks of a tribune Icilius proposing an agrarian law, *velut pensum nominis familiaeque*. *Nomen* implies the *gens*.
- 20 § 2. *patres*] or *patres conscripti* was the usual name for senators (I. 8. 7). *Patres* was, however, used also to denote the patricians as a class, instead of the more precise title *patricii* (which occurs elsewhere in this chapter).
quondam...tandem] See Critical Appendix.
quondam] In 448 the patricians had managed to have two of their number coopted as tribunes, and this had led to the passing of the Trebonian law (III. 65. 1).
- 21 *repulsi*] 'and had been checked on their first attempt'. *Repulsi* denotes an action simultaneous with, if not continued after, the action denoted by *petissent*. This idiom, which arises from the want of a present passive participle, is frequently employed by Livy. There is a good instance of it in III. 3. 10 *in oppida sua se recepere uri sua popularique passi*. See nn. on 38. 1 (*diductam*); 51. 9 (*avecta*).
tribunos militum] The action has hitherto been attributed to the patricians as a whole, but the military tribunes may have taken a leading part. There seems to be a reference to this two lines below in the words *inperio patriciorum*, as *inperium* denotes the power of the supreme magistrate.
vociferans] There is no principal verb except the historical infinitive *arguere* at the end of § 3.
- 22 *cooptatos*] an instance of zeugma. The word is appropriate to the second clause (*inperio patriciorum*), but a word like *creatos* is required with *suffragiis populi*.
- 24 *adseculae*] a contemptuous word, 'dependents'.
- 25 § 3. *sacratas leges*] The laws protecting the tribunes invoked a curse on anyone who harmed them. Such a law was passed on the first institution of the office (II. 33. 3) and renewed by the Lex Valeria Horatia in 449 (III. 55. 7).

27 § 4. *arderent*] used passively 'were scorched'.

30 *P. Curatius* etc.] The names of the tribunes who were coopted are given in 10. 11. The tribunes mentioned here must have been responsible for the violation of the law.

trepidi rerum suarum] apparently imitated from Verg. *Aen.* XII. 589 *apes trepidae rerum*. For *res* in the plural meaning, 'situation', cf. Cic. *pro Cluent.* 7. 20 *diffidentem rebus suis*.

p. 15. 2 *die dicta*] At this epoch all trials for public offences were conducted in the Comitia Centuriata or Tributa, on appeal from the sentence of a magistrate. Any magistrate wishing to impose a punishment or fine, gave notice to the accused man to appear on a given day and show cause why the penalty should not be imposed. *Diem dicere* thus came to mean to give notice of an intended prosecution.

3 § 5. *longinquitas*] 'long duration'. See n. on 5. 12.

5 *lugubris domos habeant*] 'had their houses in mourning'.

7 § 6. *namque*] Livy is the first prose writer who puts *namque* elsewhere than at the beginning of the sentence; see n. on 1. 6.

8 *accusatores*] See Critical Appendix.

11 § 7. *quorum*] = *et eorum*; it does not influence the construction.

13 *confecto*] adverbial ablative, used also by Cic. *pro Scaur.* 8. The use of passive participles as ablative absolutes without a subject is rare in early Latin. Cicero employed this construction with several words, but Livy gave a great extension to the use; cf. 8. 6 *necopinato* (a compound of negative and participle); 14. 4 *auspicato*; 38. 1 *litato*; 52. 2 *inaugurato*.

17 § 9. *nec...nec*] The first *nec* = *et ne* and connects *possint* with *consenescat*; the second = *neve* and connects *de commodis* with *de agris*.

agris] obviously refers to the public lands.

18 *frequentiaque*] literally 'by means of a crowded attendance in the city make the proposals of the tribunes thronged'; i.e. 'secure effective support for the proposals by means of the crowds (of plebeians) in the city'.

20 § 10. *præiudicium factum*] 'a verdict had been given in advance'; cf. *prædamnatos* § 12.

22 § 11. *ab re publica*] 'from public office'.

25 *extemplo*] 'immediately' without any interval between their election and their entry on office.

26 *stare*] is used in an emphatic sense (=be preserved, remain undiminished), opposed to *iacēre*; cf. 44. 2; 53. 9.

- 28 § 12. *venire ad iudicium*] 'presented themselves for trial'. *Populi iudicium* denotes a trial conducted in the *comitia*: a trial before a *quaestio* in later times was described as *iudicium publicum*.
- 29 *defunctos esse*] 'were quit'. *Defungi* is sometimes used without an ablative in the sense of escaping a great hurt by suffering a slight one.
- p. 16. 1 § 13. *inrogatam*] 'inflicted'. The word is used of proposing a penalty in the *Comitia*, and is therefore only appropriate to a *populi iudicium*.
- 3 § 14. *Quirites*] is emphatic and represents the vocative of *oratio recta*, just as *repeterent* represents the imperative. The description is rendered as vivid as possible by the use of *hic* (§ 12; § 14) and of primary tenses.
- 5 *incidentem portis*] See n. on 26. 8.
fortunam] For Livy's use of *fortuna*, see n. on 49. 1.
- 6 § 15. *pro certo habere*] See n. on 3. 2.
- 7 *in contione*] After the trial had been conducted in three *contiones* on three separate days a fourth assembly was held when the voting took place.
- 9 § 16. *iratos*] proleptic, 'against whom they had invoked the anger of the gods'; cf. II. 45. 14 *si fallat Iovem patrem...aliosque iratos invocat deos*.
- 10 *in eis*] *In* with the ablative is frequently used after verbs denoting friendly or hostile conduct, to denote the person towards whom the action or feeling is directed; cf. 2. 8; 36. 9 (*ne decerneret in tantae nobilitatis viris*).

CHAPTER XII.

- 13 § 1. *plebs*] The proceedings were in the *Comitia Tributa*, where the plebeians could command a majority, but the vote of condemnation was passed by the whole *populus* (cf. § 2 *ira populi*; II. 12 *populi iudicium*).
- denis milibus*] For the ablative see n. on 29. 7.
- 14 *aeris gravis*] i.e. *assium*. The first coin of the Romans was a mass of copper weighing about a pound (*as libralis*). In the course of the republic the *as* was reduced in weight, until at last it did not weigh more than half an ounce. *Aes grave* denotes the old coinage, in which the *as libralis* was the unit, and 10,000 of such asses would be equivalent to about £225 of English money. Cf. 29. 7, where the same fine is imposed.

Martem communem] The god of war is regarded as impartial, as in Hom. *Il.* XVIII. 309 ξυνὸς Ἐννάλιος. Cic. *de Or.* III. 42. 167 quotes as a common rhetorical device the saying, *Martem belli esse communem*, and the phrase *Mars communis belli*, sometimes with *fortuna* added as here, or *casus* as in Cic. *pro Sest.* 5. 12, occurs frequently both in Cicero and Livy.

17 § 2. *cooptationis*] In the excitement caused by the trial of Sergius and Verginius, the tribunes who had transgressed the Trebonian law (11. 4), escaped prosecution, while the coopted tribunes retained their office.

20 § 3. *victores tribuni*] Substantives, especially verbal substantives in *-tor* and *-trix*, were used in Latin as adjectives. *Victor* and *victrix* are frequently so used; cf. 24. 10 *victrici patriae*; 40. 1 *urbis victricis*. Cicero has *victor exercitus*, *litterae victrices* (*ad Att.* V. 21. 2).

21 *legem agrariam*] See *Introd.* § 14.

promulgant] When a magistrate intended to propose a law, he issued a notice summoning the *comitia*. After this an interval of 24 days (*trinundinum*) was necessary, in the course of which the law to be proposed was published (*promulgari*).

tributum conferri prohibent] either by the direct exercise of their veto, or by promising protection to any citizen who refused to pay; cf. IV. 60. 5 *edixerunt tribuni auxilio se futuros, si quis...tributum non contulisset*.

22 *cum*] probably introduces the reason of the tribunes, 'since so much money was spent and so little was effected'. Others take it as 'although'.

23 § 4. *militia*] The ablative is used like *bello* to denote the sphere of action.

ita prospere] *Ita* limits, 'with only such an amount of success'.

28 § 5. *praedae actae*] This was the usual method of border warfare: the movable property was taken and the houses and crops burnt, but the towns were neither assaulted nor blockaded (cf. n. on 2. 1). Similar operations are described in 14. 7 (*tota vis in populationibus fuit*) and 24. 2.

29 *nec oppugnata*] See *Critical Appendix*.

30 § 6. *depopulato*] The participle of the deponent verb *populo* and its compounds is used by all writers in a passive sense, but the use of *populo* in an active, or any other part of *populo* in a passive, sense is restricted to the poets and late writers; cf. 24. 2.

31 *postquam...erat*] See n. on 10. 11; here *inrita* makes the clause virtually negative.

p. 17. 2 *Volsci provincia*] The apposition of a plural to a singular noun, is natural with the names of cities, tribes etc.; cf. *urbs Veii* (21. 2); *Vol sinienses provincia evenit* 32. 2; *Veientes provincia* II. 54. 1.

provincia] signified originally a military command to be exercised in some definite spot. Hence it derived the meaning of any public duty, e.g. of the *praetor urbanus* (*provincia urbana* XXIV. 9. 5), later still it came to have the geographical meaning, which it now bears.

evenerat] See n. on *sorti evenit*, 24. 2.

3 § 7. *maiore mole, quam bella tractabantur*] an abbreviated expression for *quam quanta ea moles erat qua bella tractabantur*. The emphasis lies on *mole*, which, from the meaning of 'mass, bulk', acquired the meaning of 'burden, effort, strain'. Trans. 'Internal sedition gathering force involved a greater strain than the wars which were on hand'.

5 *per tribunos*] 'on account of (the opposition of) the tribunes'.

7 *haud procul erat quin*] See n. on 4. 14.

8 *contagione*] See n. on 6. 11.

9 § 8. *nunc illud tempus esse*] On *nunc* in or. obl. see n. on 2. 3. *Illud* is here emphatic, 'now was the great time'.

10 *stabiliendae libertatis*] 'for establishing their political rights'. For this use of *libertas* cf. 2. 12.

Sergii Verginiisque] The plural of proper names is used to describe a type or class; 'men like S. and V.'; cf. Cic. *Cat. M.* 6. 16 *Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii*.

11 *fortis ac strenuos*] are often so combined in Livy; cf. IV. 3. 16.

12 § 9. *unus*] Livy makes a mistake: other members of the college were certainly plebeians, see Introduction p. xxviii, n. 6.

unus ex plebe] 'one of the plebs'. Ablatives with *ex* or *de* are sometimes used instead of a partitive or defining genitive; cf. 32. 6 *M. Caedicius de plebe*; 39. 13 *multitudo de plebe*; 40. 9 *homo de plebe*; so *de legione prima* XXII. 53. 2.

13 *usurpandi iuris causa*] 'in order to make use of their privilege'. It was the first time that a plebeian had been elected to this office, and Livy implies that it was only a formal concession.

15 § 10. *L. Titinius, P. Maelius, L. Publilius*] These three at least were probably also plebeians.

17 § 11. *nullis honoribus*] He had probably been tribune of the plebs, but this office was not included in the term *honores*. The only other offices open to him were the Quaestorship and Aedileship.

18 *senator*] It is doubtful when plebeians were first admitted to the

senate. Livy follows the theory that a number of plebeians (*patres minorum gentium*) were added to the senate by Brutus on the institution of the republic (II. 1. 10). He may regard Licinius as belonging to one of these *gentes*, or Licinius may have been chosen by the consuls to be a senator. It is noteworthy that this is the first plebeian definitely named by our authorities as having a seat in the senate.

- 19 § 12. *nec satis constat*] 'nor have we sufficient knowledge'. *Satis* after negatives usually = 'surely, adequately'.

primus ac potissimus] Livy has a fondness for this alliterative expression, and he was the first prose writer to use the phrase with reference to persons.

ad delibandum] 'to taste the sweets of the new dignity'. Cicero also uses *delibare* in this metaphorical sense.

- 20 *Cn. Corneli fratris*] We must assume that Cornelius was a patrician so that Licinius can only have been his step-brother.

- 22 *equitibus*] These were the *equites equo privato*; see n. on 7. 5. Livy does not mention the proposal to give them triple pay, in the year in which it was made. *Triplex stipendium* means pay three times that of the ordinary soldier.

- 25 § 13. *quod*] for the more usual *id quod*: 'relaxed their opposition in the matter of the tribute, the thing which embarrassed the state most of all'.

CHAPTER XIII.

- 28 § 1. *Anxur in Volscis*] *Anxur* had been surprised by the *Volsci* in 402; see 8. 2. We have in this section a series of short notices, evidently taken almost without change from one of the annalists (cf. 31. 2). This may account for the use of the rare words *nivosa* (which is not found elsewhere in prose except in XXI. 59. 8) and *innavigabilis* (which is not used elsewhere).

- 31 *fuert*] primary tense in a consecutive sentence, although the principal verb is secondary; see n. on 28. 12.

annona... nihil mutavit] 'the price of corn did not rise owing to the supply which had been collected in advance'. See n. on 26. 9 *ex ante convecto*; *mutare* is used intransitively; cf. *vertit* 18. 9.

- p. 18. 3 § 2. *dulcedo*] 'desire', not in its usual sense of 'charm' (6. 15). Livy extended the number of substantives used with the genitive of the gerund; cf. 14. 2 *praetereundi verecundiam*; 42. 1 *delendi libido*; 48. 3 *pigritia sepeliendi*.

invasit] used without an object, 'gained ground, made itself felt'.

- 5 § 3. *alios*] = *ceteros*. Livy frequently uses *alii* = *ceteri* (37. 1) or *alii* = *reliquus* (26. 7; 55. 1); but he does not altogether avoid *ceteri* (12. 10; 40. 8) and *reliquus* (38. 6).
- 6 *omnes fere centuriae*] Cf. IV. 30. 15 *omnes centuriae iussere*. Livy tells us (I. 43. 11) that as a rule the voting in the *Comitia Centuriata* was not continued, after a majority of the Centuries had voted in favour of any proposal. This phrase probably means that in the votes actually taken, there was not much difference of opinion.
- 8 § 4. *ex intemperie caeli*] Cf. VIII. 18. 1 *foedus annus intemperie caeli*. Notices of this nature, as well as of religious occurrences (§§ 5—8) would naturally be preserved in the old chronicles.
- 10 *alia qua*] See n. on I. 7.
- 11 *excepit*] is often used like ἐκδέχεσθαι of the succession of time; cf. 42. 6. It is sometimes used intransitively.
- § 5. *perniciē*] must be dative, though this form is not found elsewhere in Livy.
- quando*] in Livy is usually causal in sense; cf. 27. 4; 44. 1.
- 12 *libri Sibyllini*] in 14. 3 called *libri fatales*. The Sibylline books, which were, in all probability, brought from one of the Greek towns of Asia Minor, were kept by the *duumviri* (§ 6) in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. They contained oracular verses, which were supposed to refer to the fate of Rome.
- ex senatus consulto aditi sunt*] The senate, as the directors of the state religion, took the initiative in ordering the Sibylline books to be inspected (cf. 50. 2). *Adire* is used of inspecting the sacred books in III. 10. 7; X. 31. 8; XXXIV. 55. 2 and Tac. *Ann.* I. 76.
- 13 § 6. *duumviri sacris faciundis*] these officers were supposed to have been appointed by Tarquinius Superbus to take care of and to interpret the Sibylline books, *carminum Sibyllae ac factorum populi huius interpretes* (x. 8. 2). As the books were of Greek origin, they usually prescribed the introduction of Greek rites, in honour of Greek gods, and in this way the *duumviri* had a general superintendence of the *ritus Graecus*, as the pontiffs of the *ritus patrius*. In 367 their number was increased to ten and in 81 by Sulla to fifteen.

lectisternio] a ceremony probably of Greek origin (θεοξενία). The statues of the six gods were set upon couches (*lecti*) in the temple, and tables loaded with food were placed before them. At first this was an extraordinary solemnity of rare occurrence (VII. 2. 2), but early in the second century B.C. the ceremony formed part of the ordinary worship of the gods (XXXVI. 1. 1).

- 14 *Apollinem Latonamque*] The gods honoured with the *lectisternium* were of Greek origin. The Sibylline books were especially connected with the worship of Apollo.
- 17 § 7. *tota urbe*] The ablative of place without a preposition is found regularly where *totus* or *medius* is used with the substantive; cf. 53. 8.
- 18 *promiscuo usu...posito*] *Promiscuo* is the predicate, and *in propatulo posito* is an attribute, which would naturally be in agreement with *rerum*.
- 20 *ferunt*] Livy uses this word to show that he is only repeating a current tradition; cf. 20. 4; 25. 9 and see n. on *tradunt* 31. 3.
- 21 *iurgiis ac litibus*] The words both refer to disputes at law, *iurgia* being those which are decided on general principles of fairness, *lites* those which are decided in accordance with strict law. It was a principle with the Romans to abstain from such disputes on days of festival: cf. Cic. *de Leg.* II. 29 *feriarum festorumque dierum ratio quietem habet litium et iurgiorum*. Scipio Africanus, when he was accused on the anniversary of Zama, pleaded *cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit* (Liv. XXXVIII. 51. 8).
- 22 § 8. *vinctis*] slaves, criminals and debtors.
religioni fuisse] *Religio*, denoting generally a thing of which man stands in awe, sometimes signified that which is unholy. Hence *religioni est* (31. 6), *religio est* (40. 8), *religiosum est* (30. 7; 40. 10; 52. 8) were almost equivalent to *nefas est* and were applied to actions, which were avoided on religious grounds.
- 23 *vinciri*] It is more usual in Latin for a passive infinitive to be used with an impersonal predicate than an active; trans.:—‘henceforth conscience forbade that those to whom the gods had brought such a relief, should be put in chains (again)’.
- 24 § 9. *Interim ad Veios*] *Interim*, with some words denoting place, is frequently used in Livy to mark a change of scene; cf. 15. 1; 24. 4; 41. 1; 46. 1 and 4. A clause with *dum* has the same purpose in 17. 6; 47. 1; II. 31. 1 (*dum haec in Volscis geruntur*). Tacitus seems to use *at* with the same purpose (*Ann.* I. 38, *at in Chaucis*; I. 46 *at Romae*).
- tribus in unum bellis conlatis*] The phrase is repeated in 20. 2.
- 25 *eodem, quo antea, modo*] Cf. 8. 8 *ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur*.
- 30 § 10. *unde*] = *e quibus*, a case of attraction as *ubi* would be more appropriate with *cessatum fuerat*.

cessatum fuerat] *Fuerat* is used loosely in a sense equivalent to *erat*. *Fui* and *fueram* are used properly with the passive participle, to denote a *state*, in which a thing has or had been; the participle thus has an adjectival force. Livy however often uses *fui*, *fueram* in the sense of *sum*, *eram* as auxiliaries; cf. 23. 1 *procurata fuerant*.

p. 19. 1 § 11. *inde*] Livy is fond of marking the succession of events by a series of temporal particles: here, *inde...*, *deinde...* *nec ita multo post*.

3 *ediderunt caedem*] *Edere* in the sense of 'to produce, perform, cause', is often used with substantives denoting action. This phrase occurs 21. 13; 45. 8; cf. 4. 7 *operam ede*; Lucr. III. 560 *motus edere*; Verg. *Aen.* IX. 785 *tantas strages ediderunt*.

4 § 12. *palatis...oblati*] See Critical Appendix. Both *palantes* and *palati* are used to describe men scattered in disorder, but in Livy the perfect participle occurs much more frequently than the present; cf. 45. 3.

5 *populatores*] i.e. not the Romans from the camp, but another body, who had invaded the territory of Capena.

reliquias pugnae] Cf. XL1. 12. 8 *reliquiae caedis*; Verg. *Aen.* I. 30 *Troas, reliquias Danaum*.

6 *Veientium*] partitive genitive after *multi*.

7 *dum...excludere*] *Dum* has a causal sense; cf. Praef. 2, *dum...credunt*.

prae metu] *Prae* denoting the cause of an action is employed by Cicero and Caesar only with negatives or verbs containing a negative idea.

Romanus] collective, see n. on 2. 1.

CHAPTER XIV.

11 § 1. *quippe...cernentibus*] *Quippe* with a participle for the more usual *quippe qui* with the subjunctive is found in III. 63. 2 *quippe fuso validiore cornu*; Hor. *Od.* I. 31. 13.

non communicatum] Livy has a similar expression IV. 54. 7 *patres non pro communicatis, sed pro amissis honoribus fremere*.

13 § 2. *ex conposito*] An adjective (or participle) is frequently combined with the preposition *ex* in a sense equivalent to an adverb; cf. 23. 2; 45. 8.

14 *praetereundi verecundiam*] See n. on 13. 2. *Verecundia* is used with a genitive of the gerund in III. 40. 5 *interpellandi verecundia*.

- 15 *crederent*] The mood is oblique as the clause expresses the motive of the patricians.
- 17 *exciebant*] 'called to their aid'. See Critical Appendix.
in religionem vertentes] *In religionem vertere* and *in religionem trahere* (23. 6) mean 'to make a matter of religious scruple'.
- 18 § 3. *priore anno*] 'in the year before last', *proximo* denotes the year immediately preceding.
- 19 *similem*] 'which seemed to give warnings from the gods'. On the dative *prodigiis*, see n. on 21. 9.
- 20 *eventus*] A predicate *fuisse* must be supplied with this word, as *coortam* is appropriate only to *hiemem*.
- 21 § 4. *in libris fatalibus*] *Libri fatales*, which here denotes the Sibylline books (see n. on 13. 5), is more often used either of books of fate generally or of the books of the Etruscan seers in particular (as in 15. 11).
- 22 *inventum sit*] here governs an acc. and inf.
auspicato] abl. abs., see n. on 11. 7. Before the meeting of the *comitia* took place, it was usual for the presiding magistrate to consult the auspices; this formality was not observed at the meetings for the election of the *tribuni plebis*, and plebeians were not regarded as qualified to perform this religious ceremony; cf. VI. 41. 5 *plebeius magistratus nullus auspicato creatur*.
- 23 *discrimina gentium confundi*] Livy tells us (IV. 1. 2) that when Canuleius proposed his law for sanctioning the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians, it was thought *confundi iura gentium*.
- 24 § 5. *praeterquam...etiam*] often used by Livy instead of *non solum...sed etiam*: cf. IV. 17. 6; XXII. 53. 6 *malum praeterquam novum...etiam atrox*.
- 25 *partem magnam*] an adverbial accusative found especially in the expressions *magnam*, *maximam* (IX. 37. 9), or *bonam partem* (Lucr. VI. 1249).
honoratissimum quemque] though grammatically a singular, is in sense equivalent to a plural, and is therefore properly used with *partem magnam*.
- 28 *Camillum*] Livy refers to Camillus as holding the office *iterum* in the year 401. See n. on 10. 1.
- 30 § 6. *his tribunis*] 'in their tribunate'; abl. abs. similar to *hostibus Etruscis* (15. 1).
admodum] which originally meant 'up to the limit', with positives meant 'completely', with negatives 'at all, absolutely'.

CHAPTER XV.

p. 20. 3 § 1. *quorum pleraque*] *Pleraque* is here used with a partitive genitive as in 6. 9; in 16. 7 we have a nominative in apposition *ea pleraque*.

4 *quia singuli auctores erant*] 'because there was only one man to vouch for (each prodigy)'.

5 *spretaque*] 'and even slighted'.
hostibus Etruscis] abl. abs.

6 *ea procurarent*] Prodigies were supposed to betoken some impending evil, which, however, might be averted or turned to a good account if proper measures were taken. *Procurare* is regularly used of taking such measures; cf. 17. 1; 18. 12.

haruspices] When prodigies were announced for which no *procuratio* was provided either in the books of the pontiffs or in the Sibylline books, the senate usually had recourse to the Etruscan *haruspices*. This was impossible while Rome was at war with Veii and on this account the Delphic oracle was consulted.

7 § 2. *lacus in Albano nemore*] The rise of the waters of the Alban lake, due partly to volcanic action and partly to the melting of the snow, was a most celebrated event in Roman history. For a discussion of the legend see Introd. § 9.

in Albano nemore] on the west slope of the Alban range, where the hills were thickly planted with trees.

8 *miraculo eximeret*] 'remove from the realm of the miraculous'.

10 § 3. *sciscitatum*] governs *quidnam...prodigio*. Supines are rarely followed by dependent clauses; cf. 36. 8 *postulatum ut*.

ad Delphicum oraculum] We are told that Tarquinius Superbus sent his son to consult the Delphic oracle (I. 56. 5), and intercourse with Greece (III. 31. 8) and the honours paid to Apollo in Rome (III. 63. 2) rendered it natural for the Romans to seek aid from the oracle of Greece.

11 § 4. *propior*] 'nearer at hand'.
senior] = *senex*.

12 *in stationibus ac custodiis*] *Stationes* were the pickets thrown out in front of a city or camp to give warning of the enemy's approach, *custodiae* the sentries posted at the gates or on the walls, while *vigiliae* was applied to those who undertook this duty at night; cf. III. 5. 4 *vigiliae in urbe, stationes ante portas...dispositae*; Tac. Ann. I. 28. These distinctions, however, were not always strictly observed; in 46. 1

and 8 *stationes* and *custodiae* seem to be identical in meaning, and in 48. 6 and 7 *stationes* is used generally for sentries.

13 *vaticinantis*] used as a substantive; see n. on 3. 4 and cf. 22. 3 *colentium modo*; 22. 6 *sequentis modo*.

14 *cecinit*] 'prophesied': the word is used of the dark sayings of seers; cf. § 10 and II. 42. 10 *vates canebant*.

emissa] 'let off': the technical word for taking off water by artificial means.

foret] which is rarely used in Cicero and never in combination with a participle, is frequent in Livy.

16 § 5. *donec*] governs *elicuit* at the end of § 6.

20 *iaceret*] sc. *verba*, 'threw out hints'.

§ 6. *haud intacti*] a case of litotes, 'whose mind was susceptible to religious feelings'. Participles are often negated by being compounded with *in*; cf. *indictus* § 10; *inultus* 16. 3; *insperato* 23. 2.

21 *si operae illi esset*] 'if he thought it worth while, if he had time'. *Operae* has been variously explained as an abbreviation for *operae pretium* (i.e. a genitive), or as a predicative dative. The phrase is usually found with a negative.

22 *consulere velle*] governed by *causatus*. The pronouns *se* (subject) and *illum* (object) are omitted.

25 § 7. *nequiquam tumultuantibus*] 'in spite of the outcry of'.

26 § 8. *ad imperatorem*] may refer to the officer in command of the legion, to which the soldier belonged, or one of the tribunes may have been entrusted with the chief command.

27 *sciscitantibus*] probably a dative.

29 § 9. *profecto...fuisse*] 'must have been'; *profecto*, like *ἄρα* in Greek, is used to refer to a fact newly discovered; cf. 2. 5; 17. 2.

30 *fatale*] with the dative *patriae* as in 33. 1 *fatali urbi*.

31 § 10. *cecinerit*] primary and secondary tenses are used in the following sections without any difference of meaning.

divino spiritu instinctus] 'prompted by the inspiration of the god'.

Other phrases of similar meaning are *numine instinctus* (21. 2), *spiritu divino tactus* (22. 5; 43. 8).

p. 21. 2 *forsitan*] which from its derivation (= *fors sit an*) should render the sentence dependent, is always followed by the subjunctive in Cicero. In the poets, in Livy and in later writers it is often used as an ordinary adverb (= *fortasse*) without influencing the construction; it is found with the subjunctive in 52. 5.

3 § 11. *sic...sic*] See n. on 6. 4.

libris fatalibus] refers here to the books of the Etruscans, see n. on

14. 4.

4 *disciplina*] 'science'.

si quando] See Critical Appendix.

6 *dari*] The present infinitive is used vividly for the future; other examples will be found in 18. 2; 20. 1; 21. 8; 39. 12.

deos deserturos] See n. on 21. 5.

8 § 12. *sollemnis derivatio*] The waters had to be drawn off in accordance with the *disciplina Etrusca* (*rite* § 11), and in such a way that they did not flow into the sea (16. 9).

9 *super*] = *de* as in 17. 7.

sortis] which should mean oracles obtained by drawing lots, was used generally for the answer of an oracle, however it was given.

10 *expectandas*] agrees with the nearest substantive *sortis*. This is not a violation of the rule given in 4. 4, as we have here a combination of a word denoting persons with a word denoting a thing.

CHAPTER XVI.

11 § 1. *Priusquam...redirent*] *Priusquam* and *antequam* are sometimes used in Livy and Tacitus with the subjunctive, of a fact in past time, where there is no idea of purpose; cf. 23. 3.

a Delphis] The ablative of names of towns denoting place whence is used both with and without prepositions. Cicero, Caesar and Sallust usually omit the preposition, Livy more frequently employs it; cf. 4. 1; 19. 4 (*a Veis*); 34. 8; 46. 7.

12 *piacula*] used in the same sense as *procuratio*; see n. on 15. 1.

16 § 2. *Tarquinienses*] Tarquinius as a near neighbour of Veii probably felt that the success of the Romans would threaten her own independence.

17 *multis simul bellis*] *Simul* has the force of an attribute. Livy frequently uses temporal and local adverbs as attributes; where the substantive is qualified by another attribute, the adverb is usually placed between the adjective and the substantive; cf. 20. 1 (*omnibus ante bellis*); 23. 3; 39. 6 (*omne inde tempus*); 51. 5. *Bellis* must be taken with *occupatos*; the intermediate words are parenthetical.

18 *Labicos*] Labici, a small town near Tusculum, had received a Roman colony in 418 (IV. 47. 5); the attack of the Aequi was apparently unsuccessful.

19 *ad hoc*] a colloquial expression for *praeterea*.

Veientique] The war with Veii, Falerii and Capena is regarded as separate and distinct, and *que* is used to couple it with the attacks of the Volsci and Aequi.

21 *negotia*] in a general sense = *res*.

§ 3. *inter haec*] sums up the situation described in § 2 'under these circumstances'. *Inter haec* is often used by Livy instead of *interea*; cf.

9. 4.

22 *locum*] *Locus* (=occasion) is found both with genitive and dative; *iniuriae* is probably a dative.

agrum Romanum] the territory in Roman occupation, i.e. the district in the north of Latium, just as *agrum Caeretem* (§ 5) denotes the land occupied by Caere.

23 *aut enim passuros*] The thought of the Tarquinienses is put in oratio obliqua without any governing verb.

25 *eoque*] is used adverbially. *Eo* is frequently found connecting two adjectives in this way; cf. XXXIII. 37. 2 *per aperta eoque tuta loca*; it is more rarely found, introducing a new sentence (= *ea re, igitur*) as it does in § 4; 17. 10; 20. 9; 44. 4 and VIII. 8. 8 *Eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur*. Lucretius (v. 807) uses *hoc* = for this reason.

§ 4. *indignitas*] = *indignatio* as in 45. 6.

27 *conatu*] 'effort'.

28 § 5. *iusto dilectu*] 'a regular levy', in which the magistrates could compel service. They were prevented from carrying this out by the veto of the tribunes.

29 *prope voluntariorum*] with *dilectu*, 'one consisting almost entirely of volunteers'.

p. 22. 1 *gravis*] in passive sense, 'heavily laden'; cf. XXI. 5. 8 *agmen grave praeda*.

2 § 6. *mortalis*] See n. on 7. 3.

3 *spoliis*] *Spolia* which properly denotes arms taken from a conquered foe, is here used loosely for *praeda*, moveable property carried off in a fray.

4 § 7. *tertio*] i.e. *die*, which must be supplied from *biduum*.

5 *sub hasta*] The *hasta*, typifying conquest and ownership, was used as the sign of a public sale; slaves were sold *sub corona* (see n. on 22. 1).

6 *quodque inde redactum*] 'the amount realized from these goods' (*inde* = *ex incognitis*).

8 § 8. *fata*] Livy's notion of fate is Stoical. Fate (*ἀνάγκη*), which is generally supposed to be above the gods, is sometimes identified with

them; cf. II. 44. 12 *cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos* and in Greek Eur. *Tro.* 886 Ζεὺς εἴτ' ἀνδρῶν φύσεος.

- 11 § 9. *Romane*, etc.] Livy probably found this oracle preserved by one of the annalists, and it seems to have been originally written in Saturnian verse.

Romane] The individual is addressed as representing the nation; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 851 *Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento.*

lacu contineri] The lake had not yet overflowed (15. 2); the Romans are directed not to allow the waters to make a course for themselves (*suo flumine*), but to spread them over the fields.

- 13 *rigabis*] future in an imperative sense.

dissipatam...exstingues] 'distribute it in channels until it be spent'.

The metaphor *aquam exstinguere* is found also in Greek; cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 958 ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει.

§ 10. *audax*] adverbial.

- 14 *memor*] first used by Livy with acc. and inf. Adjectives used with the construction of participles are chiefly those which imply knowledge, memory, etc.; cf. *ignarus* 21. 5; *haud dubius* 38. 4.

- 15 *panduntur*] 'revealed'.

fatis] = 'oracles' as in Lucr. v. 110 *fundere fata*.

- 16 § 11. *templa*] poetic plural for singular, as the temple of Delphi is referred to.

portato...facito] These forms are rarely used except in the archaic style.

- 17 *instaurata facito*] = *instaurato et facito*, 'repeat and perform'. See n. on 19. 1.

CHAPTER XVII.

- 18 § 1. *ingens*] For *ingens* used of persons cf. IV. 6. 5 *Canuleius victoria ingens*.

coeptus] with the passive verb *haberi*, while *coeperere* is used with the active *adhibere*, see n. on 3. 2.

- 20 *ad procurationem ac deos placandos*] See n. on 8. 2.

- 21 § 2. *caerimonias*] It was not clear from the words of the oracle (*sacra patria*, 16. 11) whether a single religious act (*caerimonia*) or some festival as a whole (*sollemne*) had been omitted.

- 22 *sollemne*] used as a substantive, see n. on 1. 4.

profecto] See n. on 15. 9.

- 23 *vitio creatos*] Before magistrates were elected, it was usual for the auspices to be taken (see n. on 14. 4); it was possible for this to be

irregularly done (*auspicia vitiosa*) and when the augurs declared that this was the case, the magistrates were said to be *vitio creati*, and were called upon by the senate to resign.

Latinas] sc. *ferias* as in 19. 1. The *Latinae feriae* (the festival of the Latin league in honour of Jupiter Latiaris) was celebrated on the Alban mount. The games connected with the festival (19. 1) were followed by a sacrifice (*sacrum*).

4 *concepisse*] 'formally proclaimed'. A festival celebrated annually on a day fixed by the magistrates was called *conceptivus*, and the date had to be formally proclaimed by the magistrate. The Latin festival took place soon after the entry of the magistrates on office.

25 § 3. *abdicarent se*] The magistrates, who were called upon to resign, were supposed to do so without constraint. See n. on 9. 3.

26 *auspicia...repeterentur*] When auspices had been declared to be invalid, it was necessary that they should be repeated. If magistrates had been declared *vitio creati*, they were disqualified from taking the auspices and therefore from superintending the election of their successors. It was necessary to appoint *interreges* for this purpose; cf. 31. 7 *placuit per interregnum renovari auspicia*. In such cases the senate (see Introd. p. xxvii, n. 6) appointed an *interrex*, who held office for five days; if the election did not take place within that period he appointed a successor, and the process might be indefinitely continued.

29 § 5. *turbari*] an impersonal passive.

30 *convenisset*] We are not to suppose that the plebeians insisted on the election of their own candidates. The agreement must have bound the *interrex* to admit plebeians as candidates (*accipere nomen*) as the presiding magistrate might refuse to take votes (*rationem habere*) for any particular candidate. It seems probable that the patricians had tried to unfairly influence the elections.

p. 23. 1 § 6. *Quae dum aguntur*] See n. on *interim* 13. 9.

concilia] Livy uses the general term *concilia* for the assemblies of foreign nations, cf. 1. 8; 36. 1 (of the Gauls); 43. 8 (of the people of Ardea).

Voltumnae] The patron goddess of the Etruscan league, whose temple was not far from Volsinii.

4 *populi*] See n. on. 1. 4.

5 § 7. *unde*] = *a quibus*, and the antecedent *ab eis* must be supplied with *auxilium petere*.

7 *nunc iam*] emphatic, as in 2. 10, 'now indeed'.

pro se fortunam suam] 'their own situation and not their will';

se refers to the Etruscans as a whole, while *illis* refers to the Veientes.

§ 8. *maxima in parte*] 'in a very great part, in the greater part'. See Critical Appendix, and for this use of *maxima* cf. 30. 7. The Gauls had already invaded north Etruria, and their presence prevented any substantial aid being sent to Veii.

8 *invisitatam*] occurs frequently in Livy, 35. 4; 37. 2; 45. 4. Cf. Cic. *de Div.* II. 67. The word was probably formed to avoid confusion with *invisus*.

11 § 9. *id*] explained by *ut...impediant*; see n. on 2. 8.
iuventutis] collective, see n. on 2. 4.

12 § 10. *eum...numerus*] = *eorum numerum* as almost always in Cicero. See n. on 7. 6.

14 *coeperet*] See Critical Appendix.

CHAPTER XVIII.

15 § 1. *praerogativae...creant*] See Critical Appendix. The 18 centuries of equites voted first (cf. I. 43. 11 *equites vocabantur primi*), and were hence called *praerogativae* (cf. X. 22. 1).

18 *exactae aetatis*] In 12. 11 Livy describes Licinius as *aetate iam gravis*; this expression denotes a still more advanced age.

§ 2. *omnis...ex conlegio eiusdem anni*] Livy is inconsistent with himself. L. Titinius is the only one who was a colleague of Licinius in 401 (12. 10); Cn. Genucius and L. Atilius were tribunes in the year after (13. 3). Livy's mistakes probably arise from his following different authorities for different parts of his work without comparing or attempting to reconcile them.

19 *refici*] present infinitive for future, see n. on 15. 11.

21 *renuntiarentur*] Apparently a majority of the centuries had already voted, but the result had not been formally declared.

iure vocatis tribubus] to be taken closely with *renuntiarentur*. The tribes, Livy assumes, would be summoned to a *contio* to hear the result of the voting. Livy seems to regard the tribe and century as part of one organization. It is probable that he is thinking of the Comitia Centuriata as it was organized at a later date, when the tribe was taken as the basis for the division into centuries, or he may be confusing the Comitia Tributa with the Comitia Centuriata.

23 § 3. *concordiae*] final dative after *omen*.

- 25 § 4. *eosdem*] emphatic and predicative.
reficitis] = *iterum facitis*; cf. II. 56. 5 *plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit*.
- 26 *nomen*] 'mere name'.
- p. 24. 1 § 5. *do dicoque*] These two words are used especially of dedicating gifts to the gods; cf. XXII. 37. 12 *sedem ei divae dare dicare*.
- 2 *ultra*] 'spontaneously', in contrast to *huic petenti*.
- 3 *meisque...precibus*] abl. abs. coupled with *petenti* 'to him as he seeks it and as my prayers are added'.
- 8 § 7. *praecipitavere*] an example of an active verb used in a reflexive sense; Livy usually employs the active form of unwittingly falling into ambush (cf. II. 51. 6 where this phrase occurs), the reflexive or the passive of deliberate action.
- 9 § 8. *ante signa*] 'in the front ranks'; cf. 36. 6. The standards seem to have been carried between the *Hastati* and the *Principes*, and the former were hence sometimes called *Antesignani*.
- 10 *tumulum*] where he could not easily be attacked: he refused to leave his position and fight on level terms in the plain. In III. 42. 3 the Romans had taken up their position *loco edito*, and Livy speaks of them as *nusquam se aequo certamini committentes*.
ex] 'after'.
- 13 § 9. *prope vertit in*] 'almost proved'. *Vertit* is used in a reflexive sense, as *mutare* in 13. 1; cf. 49. 5 *iam verterat fortuna*.
inde] = *ex ea re*.
- 17 § 10. *victorem*] adjectival; see n. on 12. 3.
Capenatem...iuventutem] both collective, see nn. on 2. 1 and 4.
- 18 *inde*] = *ab eo loco*.
- § 11. *his tumultuosiora*] 'still more alarming accounts', explained by the accusatives and infinitives which follow.
- 20 *crediderant*] scarcely differs in sense from a perfect, see n. on 8. 7.
- 22 *obsecrationes*] 'solemn prayers'.
§ 12. *precibus...ut*] This clause gives the substance of their *obsecrationes*.
- 23 *tectis templisque*] coupled together by *que*, while *moenibus* is a fresh idea connected by *ac*.
- 25 *si sacra...essent*] This had apparently already taken place.

CHAPTER XIX.

- 26 § 1. *ludi Latinaeque*] See n. on 17. 2.
instauratae] See n. on 4. 4. *Instaurare* (cf. 52. 9) is used technically of repeating a ceremony which has been invalidated by informality (there is an instance of this II. 36. 1): it was comparatively common in later times to repeat games or other popular ceremonies on a pretence of informality.
- 27 *emissa*] Artificial channels, constructed for the purpose of draining the lake, are still in existence. See Intro. § 9.
- 28 § 2. *fatalis*] 'destined for', with *ad excidium* and *servandae patriae* (final dative). Livy prefers variety to symmetry, and we have here a combination of an abstract substantive and a gerundive (as in 8. 2; 17. 1) and in different cases.
- 29 *servandae patriae*] refers to the delivery of Rome from the Gauls by Camillus.
- p. 25. 1 *dictus*] *Dicere* was technically used of appointing a dictator, as he was nominated by the supreme magistrate.
- 2 § 3. *mutaverat*] Notice the emphatic repetition of *muto* and *alius*.
- 5 § 4. *more militari*] The method of execution was *virgis caedi securisque percuti* (IV. 29. 5).
- 7 *Veios*] In the accusative of place to which, as in the ablative of place whence, names of towns may be used either with or without a preposition; cf. *Veios* here with *ad Veios*, § 9.
- 8 *intercurrit*] 'hastens meanwhile'. The preposition is superfluous, as the same idea is expressed by *interim*.
- 9 § 5. *nullo detractante*] This ablative absolute describes the circumstances under which the levy took place, and is not, as it should be, contemporaneous with *redit*.
nullo] Cicero and the Augustan writers avoid the genitive and ablative of *nemo*, and use *nullius*, *nullo* in their stead; cf. 32. 4 *nullo arcente*.
- 10 *Latini Hernicique*] The terms of the Latin league were strictly defensive, so that Rome could not claim the services of the Latins and Hernicans in the war with Veii.
- 12 § 6. *omnibus*] = *omnibus rebus*, as in 41. 1 *omnibus compositis*; 46. 3 *omnibus peractis*. Livy frequently uses *omnibus* in this sense; and *omnium* for *omnium rerum* still more frequently, especially in the

adverbial expression *omnium primum* (§ 4; 10. 4; 50. 1); cf. 38. 5 *omnium oblivio*.

ludos magnos] *Ludi magni* was the technical expression for extraordinary games performed in consequence of a vow (*votivi*); cf. 31. 2; IV. 27. 1.

- 14 *aedem*] The temple of *Mater Matuta* built by Servius Tullius, and restored by Camillus, was in the *Forum Boarium*. It was restored again in 212 after being burnt down (xxv. 7. 6). *Matuta*, the Italian goddess of the dawn (Lucr. v. 656, *Matuta auroram differt*) was afterwards identified with the Greek sea-goddess Ino or Leucothea.

refectam] predicative = *refecturum et*.

- 16 § 7. *expectatione*] is used in a neutral sense, 'rousing more suspense than hope'.

- 17 *Nepesino*] *Nepete* was just south of *Falerii*.

- 18 § 8. *fortuna ut fit*] The expression is proverbial; cf. IV. 47. 7 *fortuna, ut saepe alias, virtutem secuta est*.

- 21 *ad quaestorem*] There were at this time four quaestors, two of whom usually stayed at Rome (*urbani*, IV. 43. 4) in charge of the treasury. Possibly the duties of the two urban quaestors were divided, and one was specially appointed to receive sums paid into the *aerarium*.

ita multum] = 'so much, very much'; *ita* is so used with adjectives especially after negatives.

- 22 § 9. *densiora castella*] Aid from the Latins and Hernicans (§ 5) perhaps enabled the Romans to complete the blockade.

- 24 *edicto, ne*] The use of participles in the abl. abs., without a subject in agreement, but with a dependent clause, was rare in the best period. Livy was the first to use *edicto* in this way; cf. X. 36. 7 *edicto ut...haberetur*.

- 26 § 10. *cuniculus*] The process of driving a mine beneath the walls of a city was practised by the Romans (IV. 22. 4), and the Gauls are said to have attacked Rome in this way (see n. on 47. 2); it seems doubtful, however, whether the Romans could have accomplished this work as quickly as Livy represents, and other authorities imply that the Veientes succumbed to famine.

- 29 § 11. *in orbem*] 'in rotation, in turn'; cf. I. 17. 6 *imperium per omnes in orbem ibat*; VI. 4. 10.

nocte ac die] *Die ac nocte* is the more usual order, but *nocte* is here emphasized by its position.

CHAPTER XX.

31 § 1. *cum iam*] 'when at last', as in 22. 3.

32 *capī*] for *captum iri*; the present implies that the capture was assured, and all but accomplished.

p. 26. 1 *omnibus...bellis*] The phrase is equivalent to a conditional clause. *Ante* has the effect of an attribute, see n. on 16. 2.

2 § 2. *inde*] = *ex ea re*, explained by *ex malignitate* etc. and *ex prodiga largitione*.

4 *caperet*] 'incur'. The compound *suscipere* is more frequently used in this sense.

6 § 3. *iam*] 'immediately'.

7 *censerent*] represents *censetis* of *oratio recta*; see n. on 2. 9. *Censere* or *decernere* (15. 12) followed by the gerundive is used of the decision of the senate; cf. 9. 1; 24. 4. The senators when called upon for their opinion answered *censeo*, *decerno*, or *mihi placet*.

§ 4. *senatum distinebant*] 'divided the support of the senators'.

8 *primum*] with *interrogatum*. When a *senatus consultum* was passed *per singulorum sententias* (see n. on 9. 2), the presiding magistrate asked the opinion of each senator in turn (*ordine consulere*, II. 29. 6).

a filio] Licinius was a consular tribune, and presided in the senate in the absence of the dictator.

9 *ferunt*] See n. on 13. 7. In his account of Licinius, who plays a most important part here and in ch. 18, Livy is probably following Licinius Macer as his authority.

10 § 5. *altera*] *sententia*. *Altera* is omitted in the previous clause, as *alios* is in 21. 5.

11 *novam...*] The adjectives follow one another without connecting particles, the asyndeton giving emphasis and effect. *Novam*, because hitherto the bulk of the booty had gone to the treasury; *inaequalem*, because if every soldier took what he could get, the division could not be fair.

12 *si semel...ducerent*] 'if once they began to think'.

si...ducerent] This conditional sentence, is part of the oblique narration, dependent on *auctor erat*.

13 *auctor*] with genitive of the gerund is also found in 33. 4 *oppugnandi*.

15 § 6. *sensuras...domos*] an instance of personification.

16 *avidas in*] *Avidus*, which regularly takes an objective genitive, is frequently found with *in* or *ad* and the accusative in Livy; cf. XXII.

21. 2 *Hispanorum...avida in novas res ingenia*; Tac. *Hist.* II. 56 in *omne nefas avidi*.
- 17 *urbanorum*] adjective used as a substantive and qualified by another adjective. Livy is thinking of the contrast between the professional soldier and the mob of the town as it existed in the late Republic.
- 18 *eveniat*] The primary tense, in this instance, is perhaps used because the statement is a general truth; see n. on I. 4.
ut...sit] *Ut* is consecutive, in the next clause it is comparative (= 'in proportion as').
- 20 § 7. *contra*] See n. on I. 3.
- 21 *ad plebem*] = *apud plebem*. Cf. III. 9. 2 *patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus*.
- 22 *legum novarum*] joined with *seditionum* in a bad sense; see n. on 2. 2.
- 24 § 8. *exinanitis*] has almost the same meaning as *exhaustis*. Both are used as substantives in an indefinite sense, 'to men who were etc.'
succurri et sentire] The subject is changed. Livy is fond of combining active and passive in this way; cf. 30. 3; 39. 11.
- 26 *quisque sua manu*] *Quisque* and *suus* (in different cases) are frequently combined; as a rule *suus* precedes *quisque*, the unusual order is emphatic.
- 28 § 9. *eo*] See n. on 16. 3.
- 29 *delegasse ad senatum*] With *delegare* Livy uses the dative and *ad* or *in* with the accusative indifferently; cf. 25. 7 *ea disceptatio ad pontifices delegata est*.
reiectam] See n. on 36. 10.
- 32 § 10. *itaque*] See n. on I. 6.
ad praedam] gives the purpose. Notice that there are three prepositions with the verb; the other two are local.

CHAPTER XXI.

- p. 27. 3 § 1. *Ingens profecta*] The transition is abrupt and there is no connecting particle, but *profecta* repeats the last word of the previous chapter.
- 4 *auspicato*] The *augurale* where the general took the auspices was usually close to his tent.
- 6 § 2. *Apollo*] The worship of Apollo was introduced from Greece; the god is here addressed under his special title of guardian of the oracle at Delphi.

- 7 *hinc*] The adverb is used, like *inde*, as a substitute for the ablative with a preposition=*ex hac urbe* (*Veis*).
- 8 § 3. *Iuno regina*] Juno was an Italian goddess, but she was identified with the Etruscan deity *Cupra*. The ancients believed that the gods abandoned a doomed city (cf. § 5 *deos...ex urbe sua evocatos*). Pliny (*N. H.* xxviii. 18) tells us that when the Romans attacked a city, the patron deity of the place was invited to leave it and promised a more honourable worship at Rome; cf. I. 55. 4.
- 9 *sequare*] This form is found only here in Livy.
- 10 *amplitudine*] 'majesty'.
- 11 § 4. *superante multitudine*] 'as he had a sufficient superiority of forces'. The *ingens multitudo* who had come from Rome to share the booty enabled Camillus to attack the city on all sides.
- 12 *ingruentis*] 'threatening'. Livy was the first writer to use this word in prose; cf. 32. 7; 37. 1.
- 13 § 5. *vatibus*] i.e. the Etruscan haruspex. The plurals in this section are rhetorically used for singulars; *oraculis* refers to the Delphic oracle, *deos* to Apollo (§ 2), *alios* to Juno (§ 3).
ab...oraculis] *Ab* is used with the ablative of instrument partly because the oracle is identified with the god, partly to assimilate *oraculis* to the ablative in the previous clause.
- 14 *in partem*] Cf. 46. 4 *ut in parte praedae essent*; Verg. *Aen.* III. 222 *ipsumque vocamus in partem praedamque Iovem*.
deos] *Alios* is omitted in the first clause; cf. 20. 5.
- 16 *ultimum diem*] i.e. as citizens of Veii it was their last day.
- 17 § 6. *timentes*] with acc. and inf., instead of with *ne* and subj. Livy uses this construction frequently.
- 19 *mirantes quidnam*] Cf. III. 38. 8 *plebem mirabundam quidnam accidisset*; *mirari* is used with a dependent interrogative in the sense of *cum admiratione quærere*.
- 21 § 7. *improvidi*] 'recklessly', used in an adverbial sense.
- 22 § 8. *fabula*] Livy records in his history the prodigies and miraculous events related in the annals, but he does not commit himself to a belief in them. He prefers to leave the question open (cf. § 9 and *Praef.* 6 *nec adfirmare nec refellere in animo est*), and to caution his readers; cf. 22. 6; I. II. 8 *additur fabula*.
- 23 *prosecuisset*] technical word for cutting out that part of the entrails which were to be sacrificed (*prosciciae*).
- 24 *exauditam*] 'distinctly heard'; cf. 52. 11.
- 25 *ad dictatorem*] Camillus was leading the attack on the walls,

- 26 § 9. *similia veris*] See Critical Appendix. Livy uses *similis* with the genitive or the dative apparently without distinction of meaning. The dative gradually supplanted the genitive after *similis*. In Plautus and Terence the genitive is always found; in Cicero it is twice as frequent as the dative, but in later authors it is comparatively rare. In this book the dative is found in 14. 3; 28. 4; 36. 1; 38. 5; 39. 2 etc. and the genitive in 27. 5.
- 27 *ad ostentationem scaenae*] 'for theatrical effect'; cf. *Praef.* 6 *poeticis magis decora fabulis*.
- 30 § 10. *militibus plenus*] The usual construction of *plenus* is with the genitive; Livy employs the ablative with comparative frequency.
- 32 *aversos*] is part of the predicate, 'turned to flight and attacked'.
- p. 28. 2 *servitiis*] *Servitia* is commonly used in the sense of *servi*.
- 3 § 11. *terrentium ac paventium*] These words are frequently combined; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 25; *pavere* is used as the passive of *terreo*.
- 4 *ploratu*] 'wailing'; specially used of the cries of women and children.
- § 12. *momento temporis*] See n. on 7. 3.
- 6 *agmine*] See n. on 41. 5.
- 8 § 13. *edita caede*] See n. on 13. 11.
- senescit*] 'abates'. The word is used in this metaphorical sense by Cicero also. In 43. 7 it is used of Camillus growing weary.
- 9 *ab inermi*] in a collective sense='all who were defenceless'; the plural is used in the next section. See n. on 2. 1.
- sanguinis*]=*caedis*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* IV. 47 *sanguine barbarorum modico*.
- 10 § 14. *dedi*] in a middle sense 'to surrender'; cf. 48. 7. The same phrase is found in IV. 29. 4; 34. 3.
- 11 *aliquantum*] with a comparative instead of *aliquanto*. See n. on 10. 5.
- 12 *rerum*] The genitive defines *praeda*, the antecedent of *quae*; cf. 24. 2 *praedae rerum*; 25. 6 *praeda quae rerum moventium sit*.
- 13 § 15. *ut*] repeated in l. 15. *Ut* is repeated for the sake of clearness, where the sentence is broken up by the insertion of other clauses; cf. Cic. *pro Balb.* 20.
- 15 *eam invidiam*] 'the jealousy arising from that (success)'. The ancients believed in a jealous god, who visited excessive prosperity with some counterbalancing misfortune. Cf. Hdt. I. 32 τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν.
- 17 § 16. *convertentem se*] This was one of the ceremonies of prayer.

The Roman in praying always had the statue of the god on his right; after praying he wheeled to the right so as to front the statue and then prostrated himself. Cf. Lucr. v. 1199 (*vertit ad lapidem*); Suet. *Vitell.* 2 where all these ceremonies are described.

traditur] impersonal, see n. on 1. 8.

19 *coniectantibus*] with both acc. and abl.; the phrase corresponds to the English 'prophesying after the event'.

20 *captae urbis*] The genitive defines and limits *cladem*. *Quod*=*id quod*.

21 § 17. *atque*] This clause resumes and sums up the narrative of the sack of Veii.

CHAPTER XXII.

23 § 1. *corpora*] = persons; cf. vi. 13. 6; iii. 56. 8.

sub corona] *Sub corona vendere* meant to sell people as slaves, because the captives used to wear garlands, Aulus Gellius vi. 4.

ea pecunia] 'the money so realised'; cf. *eam invidiam* 21. 15.

24 *publicum*] 'the public treasury'; cf. τὸ δημόσιον in Greek. In 23. 9 *in sacrum* is a general term and means 'for holy purposes'.

26 *quaerendo*] The gerund is used by Livy to give a description of the subject, instead of the participle; see n. on 43. 7. On the use of the gerund with a direct object instead of the gerundive see n. on 1. 6.

29 § 2. *acceptum referebant*] This phrase, which was originally limited to business transactions, was metaphorically used of 'giving credit for, feeling obligation to'.

30 § 3. *amoliri*] a word found in the earliest writers and first used in prose by Livy.

32 § 4. *pure*] A man about to perform an important religious duty must first duly cleanse himself in a running stream. Cf. 1. 45. 6.

p. 29. 1 *deportanda*] used like an abstract substantive = 'the duty of conveying'.

2 *regina Iuno*] The usual order is *Iuno regina* as in 21. 3; 31. 3.

3 *admoventes manus*] It was customary in approaching certain deities to move the hands to the lips and to kiss them as a sign of adoration. *Manum admove*re was the phrase commonly used for this practice; cf. Apul. *Met.* iv. 28.

4 § 5. *nisi...non*] = 'only'.

esset] The subjunctive is used after *quod*, to show that this was the motive of their action.

- 6 *iuvenali*] This word was first used in prose by Livy instead of the regular *iuvenilis*.
- 8 § 6. *velle*] The subject *se* is omitted as in 15. 6 before the same verb.
sede] abl. after *motam* without a preposition.
- 9 *molimentī*] 'power'.
- 11 § 7. *aeternam*] This is a reference to the enduring power of Rome, justified by the later history, which Livy had in view.
- 12 *idem*] more emphatic than *is*.
- 13 § 8. *occasus*] generally used of the setting of heavenly bodies; Cicero also uses it in the sense of downfall.
- 14 *Etrusci nominis*] 'the Etruscan race'. *Nomen Romanum* (39. 10), *Etruscum* etc. denotes all those who bear the name of Roman, Etruscan, etc. The idiom is more familiar in the phrase *nomen Latinum*. Cf. 1. 10. 3 *nomen Caeninum*.
suam] sc. *Veiorum* refers to the logical not to the grammatical subject.
- 16 *plus aliquanto*] The usual order is reversed; cf. 29. 5 *maius aliquanto*; 55. 1 *post paulo*.
- 17 *fato urgente*] Cf. 32. 7 *fato ingruente*; 36. 6 *urgentibus urbem Romanam fatis*. In all these instances the phrase is used of disaster coming upon a great city; so in XXII. 43. 9 the phrase is used with reference to the battle of Cannae.
operibus, non vi] For the contrast between blockade and assault see n. on 2. 1 and cf. 24. 2.

CHAPTER XXIII.

- 20 § 1. *prodigia procurata*] See n. on 15. 1.
procurata fuerant] See n. on 13. 10.
- 21 *notae*] irregular, see n. on 4. 4.
- 24 § 2. *tot annis*] 'in the course of so many years'; the ablative here practically signifies duration of time.
varie] 'with varying fortune'.
- 25 *ex insperato*] See n. on 14. 2.
- 26 § 3. *decerneret*] not in a final sense, see n. on 16. 1.
- 27 *matrum*] = *matronarum*, the more usual expression (18. 11; 25. 8; 50. 7), which is not used here to avoid the jingle with *Romanarum*.
grates] *Grates agere* is used more frequently in Livy than *gratias agere* of rendering thanks to the gods.

28 *supplicationes*] public prayers and thanksgiving ordered by the senate; originally they did not last more than one day, but in the later days of the republic they were much extended.

30 § 4. *celebratio fuit*] 'attracted a greater crowd'.

31 *diei illius*] 'of a day of triumph'.

32 *aliquantum*] See n. on 10. 5.

§ 5. *conspectus*] is the primary predicate, *invectus* the secondary.

p. 30. 1 *iuncto*] Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* VI. 1. 25 *raeda equis iuncta*.

parumque...visum] 'unbecoming to him not only as a citizen but even as a man'. *Civilis* denotes that which is characteristic of the ordinary citizen; *civilis* and *humanus* are contrasted in 3. 9 but in a different sense.

3 § 6. *equis aequiperatum*] The comparison is abbreviated; Camillus made *his* chariot equal to the chariot of the gods. This idiom frequently occurs in Livy; cf. XXI. 11. 2 *Saguntinos Carthaginiensium societati praeponere*.

in religionem trahebant] 'they regarded superstitiously': see n. on 14. 2. Livy and the other authorities all lay stress on the fact that Camillus was rivalling Juppiter with his white steeds. It was, however, characteristic of the triumph that the general had all the insignia of the statue of Juppiter; cf. X. 7. 10 *Iovis optimi maximi decoratus*; this story is therefore open to suspicion.

5 § 7. *Iunoni*] The dative after *locavit templum* finds a parallel in XXVII. 10. 13 *ad vestimenta locanda exercitui*, but the change of case in the next clause is harsh.

6 *locavit dedicavitque*] This sentence is an instance of chiasmus, the verbs of the two clauses being put next to each other and their objects at the beginning and end. We have another example of this in § 8 *diceret Camillus, pontifices...censerent*.

9 § 8. *pontifices*] The pontiffs were the advisers of the senate on all matters of religion.

10 *religione*] *Religio* may denote that which is religiously binding, 'religious obligation'. Cf. 25. 11 *ab religione animos remisierunt*; 11. 36. 3 *liber religione*; VI. 1. 10 *religione obstrictos animos*. Camillus, as dictator, was entitled to make vows on behalf of the community, and these the community was bound to fulfil.

11 § 9. *referre*] This should probably be taken in its literal sense, the booty had to be collected, and a tenth of it set aside. It might be taken in the sense of *referre rationem* 'to make a return, give in a list'.

12 § 10. *eo*] The adverb *eo*, which is often equivalent to an ablative

of cause (see n. on 16. 3) is also used as equivalent to a dative or a prepositional phrase. Here it=*ad id*, and is followed by a relative clause.

15 *pretium*] 'the (money) value'.

16 § 11. *ex dignitate*] 'as the honour of the R. people required'.

See n. on 4. 9.

17 *ea quoque*] Camillus had already offended the people by his disposal of the captives (22. 1) and by his arrogant ostentation (§ 5). This demand for a tithe of the booty must have increased his unpopularity and led to his subsequent fall.

18 § 12. *inter haec*] See n. on 16. 3.

pacificatum] the only instance of this supine.

20 *digni peterent*] The emphasis is on the adjective.

CHAPTER XXIV.

22 § 1. *Publios Cornelios*] Plural *nomina* are usually combined with singular *cognomina* in this way; cf. III. 35. 9 *duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato*.

23 *Scipionem*] He had been master of the horse to Camillus (19. 2).

26 § 2. *Capenas*] sc. *bellum*. Both peoples had been defeated by Camillus (19. 7).

sorti evenit] The ablative *sorti* is found in four other passages in Livy in this phrase; cf. *igni* 14. 7. More often Livy uses *evenire* without *sorti* in this sense; cf. 12. 6; 29. 5; 32. 2. Every year the senate decided the districts in which military operations were to be carried on and assigned the proper military forces. The magistrates then chose their provinces by *sortitio* or *comparatio* (cf. 26. 3 *Camillus cui id bellum mandatum erat*).

27 *vi aut operibus*] See n. on 22. 8.

28 *depopulatus*] See n. on 12. 6.

rerum] On this defining genitive see n. on 21. 14.

felix] 'fruit-bearing'. *Felix* comes from the same root as *fecundus*, *fetus*; cf. the definition given by Paulus (ap. Fest. p. 92) *felices arbores Cato dixit quae fructum ferunt*.

29 *frugiferum*] refers to crops of corn etc.

p. 31. 1 § 3. *pax*] Apparently they were made subject to Rome, as in 27. 10 Livy says that the Falisci had preferred the fate of Veii to *pacem Capenatium*.

2 *restabat*] 'lingered on'.

- 3 § 4. *interim*] See n. on 13. 9.
- 4 *coloniam*] In 29. 3 Livy mentions a colony *Vitellia* attacked by the Aequi. It has been generally assumed that this is the colony which is here described as planted in the country of the Volsci. Livy seems sometimes to use Volsci in a general sense, to cover both Aequi and Volsci (cf. IV. 57. 7); Suet. *Vit.* 1. refers to the colony of *Vitellia* being defended *adversus Aequiculos*.
- 5 *deducendam censuerant*] Both words are technical; see n. on 20. 3. Cf. IV. 47. 6 *senatus censuit coloniam deducendam*.
- 6 *triumviri*] When a colony was to be planted, a commission of three men was appointed to superintend the division of land (IV. 11. 5).
terna...et septunces] $3\frac{1}{2}$ iugera to each man. *Septunx*=*septem unciae*, but the *as* (of twelve *unciae*) was used to denote any unit. Hence an *uncia* was $\frac{1}{12}$ of a foot, a pound, a *iugerum* or even an estate.
- 7 § 5. *spei...solacium*] 'a sop to disappoint them of larger hopes'. The genitive of the gerundive is found after *solacium* in XXXIX. 46. 8 *ad deflendae iniuriae solacium*.
- 8 *obiectum*] a contemptuous word, cf. IV. 51. 5 *delenimentum obici*.
- 9 *relegari*] 'banished'. The word is defined by Festus (p. 278) to mean 'to be removed from Rome *ignominiae aut poenae causa*', but *relegatio* did not involve any *capitis deminutio* (as *exsilium* did).
urbs...agerque] form one idea and take a singular verb.
- 11 § 6. *vel...vel*] 'whether...or'.
situ] See n. on 2. 6.
- 13 § 7. *illa*] 'that famous proposal for migrating to Veii was mooted'. The proposal was made by Sicinius (§ 10) and renewed in the next year (29. 1), and after great exertions on the part of the patricians and the concession of a large part of Veientine land to the plebs (29. 8) defeated by a majority of one vote (29. 7). When Rome had been destroyed by the Gauls the proposal was again brought forward (49. 8).
- 14 *utique*] = *certe, saltem*; see Critical Appendix.
transmigrandi] epexegetic of *illa actio*.
- 15 § 8. *ceterum*] 'at all events they actually intended'.
partem plebis] See Critical Appendix. The *plebs* are contrasted with *senatus*, which implies also the patricians, and both classes are included in the term *populus* (=the whole citizen population).
- 16 *duas urbis*] 'two cities forming one common state'.
- 17 *posse*] From *destinabant* we must supply a verb to govern *posse* 'they maintained'.
- § 9. *cum optimates*] The apodosis to this long dependent sentence,

does not occur till 25. 2 *nulla res...cogebat*. Such parentheses are peculiar to Livy's style; cf. xxii. 18. 8—10.

optimates] In the political struggles of the later republic the senatorial party were called *optimates* (in opposition to *populares*). Livy applies the term to the early political struggles of Rome, in reference to which it can mean nothing else than 'patricians'. Cf. iii. 39. 8; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 23 *plebis et optimatum certamina*.

18 *citius quam*] like *potius quam* is followed in Livy by the subjunctive with or without *ut*; cf. xxiv. 3. 12.

19 *quicquam*] neuter, although used with the partitive genitive *rerum*. So *ad ea* is used in iv. 54. 4 where the antecedent is *magnarum rerum*.

20 § 10. *nunc...esse*] This clause contains a condition stated as a fact, *quid fore* is the apodosis.

21 *ut...praeferret*] *Ut* in combination with the interrogative particle *ne* introducing an indignant question is found in iv. 2. 12 (also in or. obl.), but not elsewhere in Livy. This construction forms an exception to the usual rule for questions in oratio obliqua; see n. on 2. 9.

23 *fuerit*] primary, representing *fuit* of or. recta. Primary tenses are also found in the next section.

§ 11. *se*] The patricians refused to have part in the new city as the tribune had proposed (§ 8).

26 *conditorem*] Veii as a Roman state would have to be founded anew with all proper ceremonies.

27 *parente et auctore*] 'father and founder'.

CHAPTER XXV.

28 § 1. *haec*] sums up the discussion related in the previous chapter.

29 *nam*] This clause gives the real reason why the proposal was not carried. The veto of a single tribune availed to stop all legislation.

partem] From 29. 6 we learn that two tribunes Verginius and Pomponius had supported the senate.

traxerant in] 'gained in support of'.

p. 32. 1 § 2. *ortus esset*] the subjunctive of repeated action, see n. on 1. 7.

2 *feririque atque*] On the combination *que atque* see n. on 2. 12, and cf. *que et* in the next section.

3 § 3. *aetatibus dignitatibusque*] the same combination as in xxx. 42. 11. The plural is used because the men in question were of different age and rank. In place of the abstract substantives a concrete expres-

sion would be more natural (*ab eis qui homines talibus aetatibus.. erant*).

- 4 *tum*] See Critical Appendix.

ad] is often used with a verb of hindering to introduce the action which is prevented; cf. IV. 13. 2 *quae ad levandam annonam impedito fuerat*.

- 6 § 4. *contionabundus*] Cf. *haec propalam contionabundus*, 29. 10. Livy implies that Camillus lost no opportunity of delivering harangues in opposition to the proposal. The *oratio obliqua* is naturally introduced by *contionabundus*, but the omission of the principal verb is harsh.

id] anticipates the acc. and inf.

- 7 *damnata voti*] The Roman religion was in some aspects commercial; the Roman promised to pay his god certain gifts, on condition that his prayer was fulfilled. As soon as this occurred he was *voti damnatus*, bound to fulfil his vow. This expression occurs frequently in Livy; cf. C. I. L. 1175 (Allen, *Remnants of Early Latin* 111), *semol te orant ut voti crebro condemnes*; Verg. *Aen.* v. 237 *voti reus*.

- 9 § 5. *stipis*] *Stips* (= a small coin) was specially used in a collective sense of religious offerings; cf. Cic. *de Leg.* II. 16. 40 *ne quis stipem cogito*.

stipis verius quam decumae] a concise expression for *eius quae stips verius quam decuma sit*. As regards the tithe of the booty the responsibility had been shifted from the state to the individual (23. 10), but Camillus protested against the gods being deprived of their dues from the land of Veii (§ 6).

- 11 § 6. *enimvero*] 'but really'; marks a contrast.

illud] is explained by *quod*. There is a change of construction in the two clauses. The first object of *tacere* is *illud, quod* etc., the second is more naturally in the acc. and inf., *mentionem fieri*.

suam] emphatic: 'his own conscience (however indifferent others might be) would not suffer him'.

- 12 *rerum moventium*] 'moveable effects'. *Res moventes* and *moventia* are frequently used in this sense in Gaius and the Digest. Instead of this expression we find used in an identical sense *omnia quae moveri poterant* (Corn. Nep. *Them.* 2. 8); it seems, therefore, that *moveor* was treated as if it were a deponent verb, and a present participle in a middle sense formed from it. Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* II. 10. 31 *utra voluptate...stante an movente*. On the construction of *rerum* see n. on 21. 14.

- 13 *quae*] neuter relative referring to two antecedents of different gender. *Et ipsa=ipsa quoque*, see n. on 27. 7.

- 14 § 7. *ea disceptatio*] 'the decision of this point', see n. on 7. 6.

- 16 *quod eius*] *Eius* is a partitive genitive dependent on *quod*. *Quod eius* (=so much of it as) is a common phrase in laws, and *eius* here refers to *urbis atque agri* mentioned in § 6. Probably Livy has taken the phrase direct from one of the annalists; cf. xxxi. 4. 2 *agro Samniti, quod eius etc.* *Eius* two lines below is the antecedent to *quod*.
- 18 *partem decumam*] In §§ 5, 6 *decuma* is used without *pars*.
- 21 § 8. *copia non esset*] Gold was scarce at Rome until the conquest of the East. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. 14 *Romae ne fuit quidem aurum, nisi admodum exiguum, longo tempore.*
- 23 *communi decreto*] The women had not strictly the power of disposing of their property.
pollicitae] See Critical Appendix. A similar act is recorded of the matrons in 50. 7. If Livy has not made a mistake, we must suppose either that they did not now give up all their gold, or that the loan was repaid (cf. § 10).
- 25 § 9. *ut quae maxime*] Comparative clauses are often introduced by similar elliptical expressions; cf. xxiii. 49. 12 *provinciae, ut quae maxime omnium, belli avida.* The full expression would be *grata ea res senatui fuit ut (ea) quae umquam maxime (grata fuit).*
umquam] See n. on 42. 5.
- 26 *pilento*] a four-wheeled carriage; *carpentum* a two-wheeled vehicle
 The change of number does not imply a change of meaning.
- 27 *profesto*] usually an adjective; it denotes an ordinary, working day
 Cf. xxxiv. 3. 9 *ut carpentis festis profestisque diebus per urbem vectemur.*
- 28 § 10. *accepto aestimatoque*] an awkward expression; Livy really means, 'the gold received from each having been valued'.
pecuniae] plural, because different amounts would be owed to different matrons.
- 31 § 11. *simul*] = *simul atque*, as in § 13.
animos remiserunt] The phrase is repeated in 41. 4.
- p. 33. 2 *ante alios*] = *praeter ceteros*. See n. on 1. 6.
- 3 § 12. *publicando sacrandoque*] The same ideas are expressed above by *in publicum redigere* (22. 1), *in sacrum secernere* (23. 9).
nihilum] This form is especially used with prepositions.
- 5 § 13. *ex eo anno*] 'protracted beyond that year'.
- 6 *legis*] The more correct term would be *rogatio*, as the proposal had not been passed; *lex* is similarly used in 29. 1; 30. 1; 55. 2.
in annum] 'for the year' = *in insequentem annum*.

CHAPTER XXVI.

- 9 § 1. *patres*] 'patricians', as in 25. 13.
- 10 *propter bella*] emphatic from its position. 'They pretended that it was in view of the wars that he was appointed general'.
- 11 *sed*] 'but as a fact'.
largitioni] 'corruption', refers to the proposal about Veii. *Largiri* is commonly used by Livy to describe the proposals of the tribunes to divide the public land; cf. II. 41. 2; III. 1. 3.
- 14 § 2. *P. Cornelius*] It is uncertain whether this P. Cornelius is Cossus, or Scipio (24. 1), or Maluginensis (16. 1).
- 15 § 3. *principio*] and *initio* are used without a preposition as ablatives of time; cf. 29. 3.
- 17 *differendo elanguit res*] 'their cause cooled with delay'. *Res* is used in a vague sense. *Differendo*=*per dilationes* (5. 1); the gerund as a rule has the same subject as the sentence, but in some cases the gerund is used like an abstract substantive, without reference to any particular subject, and *seems* to assume a passive meaning; cf. 27, 2 *exercendi*.
- 19 § 4. *moenibus*] abl. of means.
- 22 § 5. *prohibuit*] with the inf. as in 49. 1 instead of the more classical construction with *quin* or *quominus*.
mille passuum] Livy often uses *mille* as a substantive, sometimes as an adjective, *mille passus* (IV. 27. 3).
- 23 *satis*] 'quite', after a negative in a strong sense. See n. on 12. 12.
- 24 *asperis confragosisque circa*] This clause explains *difficultate aditus*. *Circa* is used in an adjectival sense='the surrounding'; see n. on 16. 2 and cf. 37. 8 *omnia circa contraque*. Weissenborn explains this clause as equivalent to *iis locis, quae circa erant, confragosis*, and takes it as an ablative absolute; it is simpler however to take it in agreement with *viis*.
- 25 § 6. *indidem ex agris*]=*ex eisdem agris*. The adverb *indidem* is generally used in combination with an ablative of place whence, and usually in the description of a person; cf. XXVIII. 1. 6 *ducibus indidem ex Celtiberia transfugis*.
- 26 *multa nocte*] 'when night was far advanced'; cf. III. 60. 8 *postquam multa iam dies erat*.
- 27 § 7. *triarii*] See Critical Appendix. The *triarii* were the veterans of the third line, and seem to have been especially chosen for siege works; cf. VII. 23. 7 *triarii erant, qui muniebant*.
- 28 *alius exercitus*] 'the rest of the army'.

proelio intentus] Livy often uses *intentus* with a dative of the object, sometimes he uses *ad* or *in* with the acc., the construction usual in other prose-writers.

30 *inde*] = *ex ea re*.

effusa] often used of a disordered flight or march, as is the adverb *effuse* 28. 12; II. 14. 7.

31 *praelati*] *Prae* in composition is sometimes used in the same sense as *praeter*; cf. I. 45. 6 *praefluit*; II. 14. 7 *effuse praelatos hostes*. Here *praelati* is used in a middle sense governing an accusative.

p. 34. 1 § 8. *vulneratique*] 'or wounded'. *Que* is used to couple two predicates, when each of them refers only to a part of the persons denoted by the subject. Cf. *capti caesique, dediti victique* (VIII. 13. 14).

portis] For the dative cf. II. 14; III. 3. 3 *pavidi incidentes portis*.

2 *ad quaestores*] See n. on 19. 8.

cum] 'causing'; *cum* gives the attendant circumstances.

3 *eandem*] predicative, 'at the same time'. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* I. 71 *militibus eandem virtutem admirantibus, cui irascebantur*.

4 § 9. *obsidio...munitiones*] The auxiliary *esse* must be supplied. The predicate is expressed by an abstract substantive where we should expect a verb, cf. 30. 7 *mentio erat*.

7 *ex ante convecto*] For this use of the participle, see n. on 47. 7. This phrase (= ἐκ τοῦ πρότερον συννηχθέντος) is found also in IV. 22. 3; in 13. 1 we have *ex ante convecta copia*.

8 *obsessis quam obsidentibus*] Both participles are used as substantives. Notice that *obsessi* (which is found also in 4. 10; 40. 4; 42. 1) is used without any notion of past time (=those enduring a siege), in 40. 4 it is even used of people about to endure a siege. The past participle passive in this instance supplies the place of the present.

9 § 10. *ac Veis fuisset*] The verb is in the subjunctive because it is part of the thought implied in *videbatur*.

10 *ni...dedisset*] This clause gives the condition not to *videbatur*, but to *futurus* (*fuisse*), which represents *fuisset* of oratio recta. See n. on 53. 9 and cf. XXII. 28. 13 *videbatur si iusta pugna esset haudquaquam impar futura*.

cognitae...virtutis] His valour in war was known, but his magnanimity had not been proved as it was at Falerii.

11 *specimen*] lit. 'a pattern' = a chance for displaying.

CHAPTER XXVII.

12 § 1. *magistro...et comite*] both predicative. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* v. 546 *custodem comitemque impubis Iuli Epytiden*. The *comes* (Gk. *παῖδα-γωγός*) was not introduced at Rome until the late Republic.

liberorum] See n. on 35. 5.

15 *sicut fere fit*] A more common phrase is *ut fit* which occurs in 32. 7.

17 § 2. *instituisset*] with inf. = *coepisset*; cf. IV. 22. 4.

exercendi] See n. on 26. 3 for this use of the gerund, and cf. Cic. *de Fin.* I. 20. 9 *ludicra exercendi aut venandi*; for the combination of gerund and verbal substantive, see n. on 8. 2.

18 *nihil*] = an emphatic *non*; cf. 42. 7; 45. 4.

19 *spatiis*] abl. of manner or circumstance, where an acc. of extent would be expected.

trahendo] denotes an action, not simultaneous with the principal verb. It explains how by accustoming them on former occasions to traverse long distances he was at last enabled to take them up to the Roman camp.

20 *res*] 'circumstances, opportunity'.

21 *inter stationes*] 'into the midst of the outposts'. *Inter* is appropriate with *stationes*, but *intra* or *per* would be more suited to *castra*. *Inter* with verbs of motion was first used in prose by Livy, cf. 46. 1 *inter stationes evadere*.

25 § 4. *capita*] = *principes*; cf. I. 52. 4 *capita nominis Latini*.

28 § 6. *quae pacto fit humano*] Livy opposes the connection, which rests upon a formal alliance, to the community of feeling which may naturally exist between two different races. The natural principles of right he elsewhere calls *ius humanum* (37. 4; III. 57. 1 *civile et humanum foedus*) or *ius gentium* (see n. on 36. 6).

30 *belli...iura*] This corresponds to international law (*ius fetiale*).

ea] grammatically refers to *iura*, but in sense to *bella* suggested by *belli*.

31 § 7. *eam aetatem*] abstract for concrete, as in the plural 25. 3.

p. 35. 2 *armatos et ipsos*] = 'those who are themselves armed'. Livy uses *et ipse*, where Cicero would employ *ipse quoque*; cf. 25. 7.

3 § 8. *quantum in te fuit*] See n. on 3. 9.

4 *novo*] emphatic, 'strange, unheard of'.

5 *opere*] 'operations, siege works'.

7 § 9. *tradidit*] *Tradere* is found with the gerundive also in 52. 8.

- 10 § 10. *iniecta*] See n. on 28. 11.
- 12 *apud eos*] 'among people who but lately almost preferred... the state with one accord demanded peace'. This is an awkward sentence, as the people described by *eos qui* etc. really composed the *civitas*.
- 13 § 11. *fides Romana*] Livy is fond of dwelling on the good points of the Roman character; see n. on 28. 3.
in foro, in curia] These words are appropriate to political affairs at Rome, denoting the meeting places of people and of senate; it has been pointed out that they are wrongly used in reference to an Etruscan town, as in Etruria the Lucumones had absolute power and the people had only to accept their decision.
- 17 § 12. *ita locuti traduntur*] This implies that Livy is reproducing a speech preserved by one of his predecessors. Notice the effect sought by alliteration, *v* (the letter which was supposed to suggest pity) occurs nine times in this section. *Victoria, victi, victor*, are repeated, and *victuros* (from *vivo*) is a play upon words.
- 21 *legibus nostris*] contrasted with *sub imperio vestro*. The ancient idea of independence laid stress on the power of making laws (*αὐτονομία*).
- 24 § 13. *fide provocati*] 'challenged by your good faith'. Cf. XXII. 22. 14 *habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem*.
- 25 § 14. *qui*] repeated three times for effect. See n. on 6. 4.
- 28 § 15. *in stipendium*] *In* was rarely used in a final sense before Livy.
- 29 *pace data*] If we accept Livy's narrative the Falisci were *dediticii* and had surrendered at discretion; they had therefore to accept whatever terms of peace and whatever political position the Romans allowed them. It is doubtful whether the Falisci were really brought under the Roman dominion; they were again at war with Rome in 357 as an independent power (VII. 16. 2).

CHAPTER XXVIII.

- 31 § 1. *cum...vexerant*] *Cum* with the pluperfect indicative was used by Cicero and Caesar of repeated action, but in other uses it was rare at all periods; six instances are quoted from Livy; cf. XXIV. 7. 2 (*cum profectus erat*). Here *cum...vexerant* is subordinate to *cum...redisset*.
- p. 36. 2 *taciti...verecundiam*] 'the senate could not withstand the delicacy of his silence'. Camillus did not remind the senate of their duty, and his reserve appealed to them all the more.

- 3 *non tulit quin*] *Quin* (= *qui non, ut non*) and *quominus* are used after negatives or quasi-negatives, and with verbs involving a negative idea (*prohibeo, abest* etc.). Livy extended the use; cf. 31. 1 *nihil certatum est quominus* etc.; 42. 7 *nihil flexerunt animos quin defenderent*; 45. 7 *vix temperavere animis quin facerent*. Here we must translate 'but (took measures in order) that' etc.

voti liberaretur] See n. on 25. 4. The construction of *liberare* with a gen. occurs also in XLI. 19. 6 (*senatus nec liberavit eius culpae regem neque arguit*), but is otherwise unknown. Livy may be following the analogy of *absolvere* or he may be imitating the Greek construction of ἐλευθεροῦν.

- 4 § 2. *crateramque...*] Notice the inversion of the natural order in this clause.

- 6 *longa una nave*] This is the first mention of a Roman war ship; the Romans had no considerable fleet until the first Punic war, but they may have kept one or two ships of war for coast defence and for purposes such as this.

- 7 *Liparas*] the largest of the Aeolian islands, which lay off the north-east coast of Sicily.

- 8 § 3. *civitatis*] In 27. 1; 39. 1 *mos est* is found with the dative, *Faliscis, eis* (= *Gallis*).

velut] (not 'as if') qualifies *publico latrocinio*, 'obtained by a sort of public piracy'.

- 9 *Timasitheus*] The name is suspicious, as its meaning is so obviously appropriate to the part he plays.

- 10 *Romanis similior*] The Roman of old days represented to Livy an ideal of honour and wisdom; cf. 36. 1; 38. 5.

Romanis] On the dative after *similis*, which occurs also in the next section, see n. on 21. 9.

§ 4. *legatorum nomen*] From the Greek point of view, they were *θεωπολ*, ambassadors to the god, and therefore sacred.

- 11 *veritus ipse*] 'as he himself revered'; *ipse* is in contrast to *multitudinem*.

- 12 *regenti*] used absolutely without object, = 'its ruler'.

- 13 *religionis...inplevit*] 'impressed with proper scruples'. The genitive, as well as the ablative, is found after *inpleo*, perhaps on the analogy of the genitive with *plenus*; cf. IV. 41. 7 *mutui erroris inplesse*.

- 14 *hospitium*] 'the guest house of the state', not as in § 5.

- 15 § 5. *hospitium*] 'friendly relations are concluded with him on the part of the state'. The Roman state could enter on terms of friend-

ship with foreign states (50. 3 *cum Caeritibus hospitium*) or with individuals of such states. The man so honoured was a *hospes publicus*, and he and his descendants enjoyed certain privileges at Rome.

16 *publice*] 'by the state'.

17 *in incerto*]=*incertum*. Phrases formed with a preposition and a neuter adjective are frequently used to express local relations; cf. *in plano* § 8 and see n. on 43. 2, but in other uses the combination is rarer, cf. *pro certo*; *ex antiquo* (33. 11).

22 § 6. *praesidio obtinere*] 'to garrison'.

Verruginem] a Roman fort in the valley of the Tiber, first mentioned in IV. 1. 4. In IV. 55. 8; 58. 3 Livy describes it as being *in Volscis*. *placuit*] sc. *eis*, 'they agreed'.

23 § 7. *ab re bene gesta*] See n. on 5. 3.

26 *ad praesidium alterum*]=*ad exercitum alterum in praesidio*.

29 § 8. *merito ea audire*] 'that they deserved his reproaches'; *audire* is used in a similar sense with the adverbs, *bene*, *male* etc.

30 *eosdem*] 'they themselves'.

p. 37. 1 § 9. *duceret*] sc. *exercitum*. Livy generally omits the object in this and some other military phrases, e.g. *movere (castra)*, XXII. 1. 1.

et in conspectu] *Et* often introduces an explanatory parenthesis.

2 *nihil poenae...*] 'they were ready to submit to any punishment if they did not etc.' Cf. 44. 7 *nisi...tradidero, non recuso eundem exitum*; XXII. 61. 15 *nihil recusandum supplicii foret*. The phrase is used of people who stake their existence on accomplishing a purpose.

3 § 10. *corpora curare*] 'to refresh themselves'; cf. 45. 1. Horace (*Ep.* 1. 2. 29) uses *cutem curare* in a similar sense.

4 *vigilia*] The night from sunset to sunrise was divided into four watches.

5 *ab ea via*] *Ab*=on the side of. See n. on 38. 2.

7 *pernox*] not used in prose before Livy.

9 § 11. *tantum iniecit pavoris*] *Inicio* in this metaphorical use is frequent in Cicero and Livy; cf. § 7 *terrore iniecto*, § 12 and 27. 10 *mutatio iniecta*.

10 *nequiquam retinente*] 'trying vainly to keep them from flight'. The participle is used in a conative sense; *nequiquam* here=in vain, not 'for nothing' as in § 13.

11 *palati*] 'scattered'. See n. on 13. 12.

12 § 12. *qui*] Postumius.

15 *sustinuerint*] primary tense in a consecutive sentence as in § 5 *fuert*,

In 45. 4 primary and secondary tenses are found in the same sentence, apparently without any difference of meaning.

§ 13. *qualis*] for *qualis fieri solet*.

16 *ad*] final, gives the result, 'was continued until'.

18 *litterae laureatae*] A despatch announcing a victory was bound with bay leaves (cf. XLV. I. 6); *laureatae* is sometimes used absolutely, (Tac. Agr. 18).

19 *victoriam esse*] acc. and inf. after *litterae*, as after *testis*, *nuntius* (II. 24. 1 *cum nuntio Volscos venire*), *spes* (39. 9), *praedibus acceptis* (55. 3).

CHAPTER XXIX.

21 § 1. *actiones*] See n. on 2. 5.

22 *legis*] Livy resumes the history of internal politics from 26. 3. The law in question is that concerning the occupation of Veii, and for a third time the two parties try to re-elect their own candidates (25. 13).

23 *suis comitiis*] The tribunes of the plebs were elected at the Comitia Tributa. These assemblies were in theory limited to the plebeians, but it is probable (from this passage, from 30. 4 and from other evidence) that the patricians were allowed to vote, although the plebeians had a great superiority of numbers.

24 § 2. *quem dolorem*] 'indignation arising from this defeat'.

senatus consulto] The senate decided every year whether consuls or military tribunes should be elected; in the former case plebeians were not eligible.

25 *consules, invisus magistratus*] For the apposition of a singular to a plural substantive cf. 47. 3 *canes, sollicitum animal*.

26 *annum post quintum decimum*] 'after fifteen years interval'. Consuls were appointed in 409 (IV. 54. 1).

28 § 3. *ex conlegio*] sc. *tribunorum*.

intercessurus] adjectival, 'disposed to object'.

29 *coortis*] The stress is on the preposition, 'having combined'.
nec segnius] 'just as keenly'.

30 *omni civitate*] = *omnibus civibus*.

31 *Vitelliam*] See n. on 24. 4. Vitellia lay on the Via Latina not far from Praeneste.

p. 38. 2 § 4. *incolumis*] in agreement with *pars*; as the adjective is predicative *incolumes perfugere* would be more natural, cf. 45. 3 *magna pars delati*.

oppidum captum] equivalent to a substantival clause, 'the fact that the town was captured'. For the rhetorical personification, cf. 35. 1 *eodem saltu favente*; 52. 13 *urbs capta movit*; XXIII. 19. 4 *Marcellum amnis inflatus aquis...tenebat*.

- 3 *per aversa urbis*] 'through the part of the city remote (from the enemy)'. Before Livy the use of a neuter adjective as a substantive with a genitive dependent on it was generally limited (except by Lucretius) to a few adjectives of quantity (*plus, tantum* etc.); Livy extended the use both with singular (37. 5; 38. 2; 41. 2) and plural adjectives. With this phrase cf. XXXVII. 27. 2 *circumvecti ad aversa insulae*.

- 6 § 6. *dies dicta*] See n. on 11. 4.

tribunis plebi bienni] *Tribunus plebi* forms one idea and the use of another genitive is therefore natural. Verginius and Pomponius had been tribunes in 395 and 394 (25. 1 and 13) but had failed to secure re-election this year (§ 1). This trial is to be noted as the only known case in the history of the early Republic, in which tribunes were prosecuted for acts done during their year of office.

- 8 *patrum consensu*] with *pertinebat*; 'whose defence the senators were agreed involved the honour of their body'.

- 9 *vitae...magistratus*] The genitive after *crimine*, which usually gives the substance of the charge, here has a more general reference, 'any accusation as to their mode of life or as to their conduct of office'.

- 13 § 7. *denis milibus*] The abl. of price (which is also the ablative of penalty) is regularly found with definite sums of money.

gravis aeris] See n. on 12. 1.

- 15 § 8. *sceleris arguere*] in § 6 *crimine arguebat*; the genitive with verbs of accusing may arise from the omission of *crimine*, more probably it is an extension of the genitive (or locative) of price. The genitive after *damnare* (*voti* 25. 4; *quanti* 32. 8) is certainly a case of price.

quae] causal.

- 18 § 9. *quod sperarent...falli*] 'they were mistaken in expecting'.

eos] It is more natural to use the unemphatic *eos*, than to repeat *illi*.

- 20 *vis*] 'violence', in bad sense.

auxilio] The *auxilium* of the tribunes, originally devised to protect the plebeians, was in time extended to invalidate decrees of the senate or proceedings in the Comitia.

aliud telum] The dictator was the only magistrate whose powers availed against the tribunes.

- 21 § 10. *fide publica decipi*] The honour of the state was involved in the protection of the tribunes (§ 6). The consuls could not of course prevent the condemnation of these officers; the point of Camillus' reproach is that the consuls had allowed this to take place, without raising their voices against it (*taciti*).
- 22 *taciti*] This adjective is often used in an adverbial sense, VIII. 4. 10 *quod illi vobis taciti concedunt*; cf. Cic. *pro Marc.* I. 1 *tacitus praeterire*.
- 23 *haec contionabundus*] The participle in *-bundus* was not used with an acc. by earlier writers (except Sallust). Livy has this phrase in III. 47. 3 and *vitabundus castra* XXV. 13. 4.

CHAPTER XXX.

- 25 § 1. *adversus legem*] 'to oppose the law'.
- 26 *dies ferendae legis*] Both the genitive and dative of the gerundive are used with *dies* and *tempus* to express purpose.
ut qui] *Ut* gives to the relative the same causal idea as *quippe*, and is followed by the subjunctive; cf. Praef. *res...ut quae...repetatur*.
- 27 *pro aris...solo*] The first pair of substantives is coupled by *que*, the second by *ac*, and the two pairs connected by *et*. *Arae* were the public altars, *foci* the hearths where sacrifice was paid to the family gods; the two words therefore suggest the gods of the state and of the family; cf. 52. 3 *deos publicos privatosque*.
- 30 § 2. *amplum*] 'honourable'.
- p. 39. 1 *latam in triumpho*] In later days it was the custom to carry models of captured cities in the triumphal procession (XXXVII. 59. 3 *tulit in triumpho oppidorum simulacra centum triginta quattuor*). Livy assumes that this practice prevailed in the time of Camillus.
- 2 § 3. *ducere*] The subject *se* is omitted as in 15. 6; 22. 6; 36. 2.
- 4 *victrix patria*] For the argument cf. 24. 10.
- 5 *mutari*] 'taken in exchange for'. With *mutare* and its compounds the ablative in the best authors denotes the thing for which an object is exchanged; in Horace frequently and in this passage of Livy the construction is reversed, the accusative denotes the object received, the ablative the thing given in exchange; cf. Hor. *Od.* I. 17. 2; III. 1. 47.
- 6 § 4. *agmine facto*] 'in a body', implies orderly arrangement.
in forum] The Capitol was the usual place of voting for the Comitia

Tributa; Livy seems to have thought that this vote was taken in the *forum* where *contiones* were frequently held.

7 *per tribus*] See n. on 29. 1.

10 § 5. *Capitolium*] See n. on 39. 9. In the speech in which Camillus opposes this same measure after the destruction of Rome, Livy represents him as laying great stress on the religious ideas connected with the different sites and buildings (ch. 52).

aedem Vestae] one of the most sacred shrines of Rome, subsequently burnt by the Gauls, lay on the Sacra Via to the south-east of the Forum.

circa] See n. on 26. 5.

11 § 6. *exsulem, extorrem*] The asyndeton is for effect; see n. on 20. 5.

12 *dis penatibus*] A little to the east of the Forum on the slope of the Velia was the *Aedes deum penatium*; there were *penates* of the state, as well as of the family.

13 *fuert*] See n. on 28. 12.

15 § 7. *religiosum fuit*] 'the matter was regarded with religious scruples by most people'. See n. on 13. 8.

16 *maximae*] for *maiori* as in 17. 8.

una] ablative of difference with *plures*.

tribus] There were at this date 21 tribes (II. 21. 7).

antiquarunt...iusserunt] 'rejected...voted for'. *Antiquare* (=to leave in its former state) was used of rejecting a measure (IV. 58. 14); cf. the English expression 'to move the previous question'.

17 § 8. *laeta*] in an active sense 'gratifying'.

18 *referentibus consulibus*] 'at the instance of the consuls'. The presiding magistrate was said *referre rem ad senatum*.

senatus consultum] In the disposal of the *ager publicus* the senate usually took the initiative and the proposal of the senate was submitted to the Comitia for approval. In this case either Livy has omitted to mention the reference to the Comitia or (as sometimes happened) the senate may have acted independently of the Comitia.

19 *septena iugera*] This allotment was twice as great as that recorded in 24. 4. In some cases we hear of lots of two *iugera* being assigned (II. 47. 6). This concession was probably the price paid by the patricians for the rejection of the bill.

20 *in domo*] 'in every house'.

21 *tollere*] 'to bring up'. When a child was born, the father recognized it as his own by lifting it from the ground; *tollere* hence came to mean to recognize and therefore to bring up.

CHAPTER XXXI.

- 22 § 1. *quo minus*] See n. on 28. 1.
- 23 *consularia comitia*] 'assembly for the election of consuls'. More often Livy uses the genitive, 26. 1 *comitia tribunorum militum*.
- 24 § 2. *Capitolino*] Livy implies that the *cognomen* of *Capitolinus* was conferred on Manlius for his services in preserving the Capitol (47. 4). This he repeats in VI. 17. 5. The *cognomen* belonged however to several families whose houses were on the Capitol (*Sestii, Quinctii Capitolini*, III. 32. 5; IV. 43. 1), and that Manlius' name had a similar origin is indicated by the tradition that after his death a decree was passed *ne quis patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret* (VI. 20. 13).
- 25 *magnos ludos*] These had been vowed in 396. See n. on 19. 6.
- 28 § 3. *vota*] See 21. 3 and 23. 7.
- 29 *tradunt*] The word shows that Livy is repeating traditions preserved by one of the annalists; see n. on 13. 1.
- 31 § 4. *fusus hostibus*] The abl. abs. is used in a descriptive sense without implying that the action preceded that of the principal verb; see n. on *repulsi*, II. 2.
- p. 40. 1 *caedendi*] See Critical Appendix. For the genitive after the participle used as an adjective see n. on 46. 3.
- 2 *Manlio*] *Manlius* as the subject to *ingrederetur* would be more natural, but *Manlio* is assimilated in case to *Valerio*.
ovans] 'with an ovation.' The *ovatio* denoted the lesser triumph in which the victorious general made his formal entry into Rome on foot, not in a chariot.
- 3 § 5. *novum*] in apposition, as this is the first war with Volsinii of which we hear. Volsinii was one of the twelve towns of Etruria; Sappina, which was probably in its neighbourhood, is not otherwise known.
- 4 *agro Romano*] See n. on 16. 3.
- 7 *inflati*] See Critical Appendix.
incursavere] This verb usually intransitive is here used transitively, as is the passive in XXIV. 41. 4.
- 9 § 6. *decessit*] *Vita* and *de vita decedere* also occur, but the verb is used often absolutely in the sense of dying.
- 10 *quae res*] = the election of a censor *suffectus*. *Quae res* is not infrequently used for *id quod*. Afterwards, in case of the death of a censor, his colleague abdicated and two fresh censors were appointed (IX. 34. 20).

religioni fuit] See n. on 13. 8.

12 § 7. *sufficitur*] The present is used because the custom still prevailed, see n. on *nefas est*, I. 4.

13 *renovari auspicia*] See n. on 17. 3. After an impersonal verb like *placuit*, a neuter or passive infinitive is preferred.

14 § 8. *creatur*] a general term instead of *proditur* (the word technically used of appointing the *interrex*).

16 § 9. *creati*] Notice that the presiding magistrate was said to *appoint* his successor, the mention of the *Comitia* being omitted.

CHAPTER XXXII.

20 § 1. *occepere*] See n. on 9. 1.

23 § 2. *Volsinienses provincia*] See n. on 12. 6.

25 § 3. *ingens*] 'extraordinary, important'.

26 *fusa...in fugam versa*] This expresses the same idea as *fusa fugataque*, words which are frequently found in combination (26. 7).

28 § 4. *effecit ne*] Cf. 19. 4.

se pugnae committerent] This phrase occurs also IV. 59. 2; X. 16. 2.

Livy also uses *in aciem se committere*, VII. 26. 11.

31 *nullo*] See n. on 19. 5.

p. 41. 1 § 5. *res redderent*] 'give satisfaction, make restitution' for goods plundered in a raid (31. 5).

2 *stipendium*] So the Falisci were compelled to pay the cost of the campaign (27. 15).

4 § 6. *de plebe*] = *homo de plebe* (40. 9). See n. on 12. 9 and cf. Cic. *Brut.* 14 *de plebe consulem*.

5 *in Nova via*] The *Nova via*, which in spite of its name, was one of the oldest roads in Rome, skirted the north-west of the Palatine. The *aedes Vestae* fronted it. Cf. Cic. *de Div.* II. 32 *non multo ante urbem captam exaudita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palati radice in Novam viam devexus est*.

sacellum] the chapel of *Aius Locutius* referred to in 50. 5; 52. 11.

6 *noctis silentio*] This particular ablative of time is frequent in Livy; cf. 45. 1.

7 *dici*] 'ordering the magistrates to be told'. The passive is used because the command was not addressed to any particular person.

8 *adventare*] See n. on 2. 3; cf. 33. 1 *adventante*.

10 § 7. *gens*] = *Galli*.

11 *ingruente fato*] See n. on 22. 8.

- 12 § 8. *die dicta*] 'being accused'; see n. on 11. 4.
 13 *propter praedam*] Livy does not state the precise charge.
 14 *adulescente*] used as an attribute, cf. I. 11. 6 *filiam virginem*; XLII. 19.
 3 *puerum filium*.
 15 *clientibus*] The client was attached to his patron by religious ties. In return for the protection given him he was bound to aid his patron in certain circumstances, to contribute to the dowry of his daughter, or the ransom of his son and to pay fines imposed in public or private trials (Dionys. II. 10). It was at first regarded as impious for the client to vote against his patron, but by this time the bonds between client and patron were relaxed, and the clients were politically identified with the *plebs*.
magna pars plebis] This is an exaggeration, as the clients probably belonged to the same tribe as their patron, and thus both *tribules* and *clientes* could influence the vote of only one tribe.
 17 *quanti*] See n. on 29. 8.
 18 § 9. *precatus*] *Precor* is found with a variety of constructions, with the accusative of the thing or of the person, with two accusatives, or, as here, with *ab*.
 19 *primo quoque*] *Primus quisque* properly denotes that which comes first on each successive occasion; but *primo quoque* with *tempore* or *die*, = on the first occasion or day.
desiderium] Cf. Appian, *It.* 8 εὐξάμενος τὴν Ἀχίλλειον εὐχὴν, ἐπιποθῆσαι Ῥωμαίους Κάμιλλον ἐν καιρῷ.
 20 *quindecim milibus*] The more usual sum was 10,000 *asses*; see n. on 12. 1.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

- 22 § 1. *Expulso cive*] See n. on 46. 10.
humanorum certi] Both adjectives are used as substantives; see n. on 3. 9. Translate: 'if any degree of certainty pertains to human affairs'. On *quicquam* see n. on 3. 2.
 23 *potuerat*] the apodosis of a conditional sentence, *quo manente* supplying the place of the protasis; see n. on *oportuit*, 3. 9.
 25 § 2. *eam gentem*] On the immigration of the Gauls see Introd. § 11.
 26 *traditur*] with acc. and inf.; see n. on 1. 8.
 28 *possedissee*] from *possido*, 'taken into occupation'.
 29 § 3. *ira corruptae uxoris*] the ablative of cause; on the objective genitive after *ira* see n. on 1. 5.
 30 *fuerat*] The oratio obliqua introduced by *traditur* is here interrupted,

and the description of the *Lucumo* given in oratio recta. The subjunctive in the next sentence (*a quo...nequiret*) is consecutive.

p. 42. 3 § 4. *haud abnuerim*] *Haud* in Livy is used almost exclusively before verbs with a negative signification or adverbs.

seu quo alio] = *sive a quo alio*. *Sive* is omitted with the first clause ; on *quo* see n. on 1. 7.

4 § 5. *eos, qui...constat*] Livy rejects the tradition he has just quoted and argues that the Gauls who attacked Clusium were certainly not the first of their race to cross the Alps.

6 *ducentis annis ante*] The ablative with *post* and *ante* is similar to the ablative with comparatives and expresses the amount of difference ; cf. 2. 13 ; 39. 2.

oppugnarent] subjunctive after *ante quam* ; see n. on 16. 1.

9 § 6. *qui inter Appenninum Alpisque incolebant*] i.e. in the valley of the Po, in the district afterwards known as Gallia Cisalpina. This is explained more fully in the following sections.

10 § 7. *Tuscorum*] following *Etruscorum* in § 6. We have the same variety of forms in 11. 7. 1 *Etruscos...Tuscorum*.

11 *terra marique*] See n. on 2. 7.

12 *mari supero*] ablative of sphere with *quantum potuerint*.

15 *Atria*] an Etruscan town on the coast a little to the north of the mouth of the Po. The Etruscans did not distinguish the sounds of *d* and *t*, so that both the forms *Atria* and *Adria* (§ 8) occur.

16 § 8. *Tyrrhenum*] *Τυρρηνοί* the name which the Greeks used to denote the Etruscans probably represents Ta-Rasenna, the name which the Etruscans gave to themselves.

17 § 9. *vergentis*] agrees with *terras* ; *duodenis* is distributive. There were twelve cities on each side of the Appennines.

18 *urbibus*] For the restrictions on the use of the ablative of place see nn. on 2. 7 ; 13. 7. Livy sometimes uses ordinary substantives without prepositions or attribute, cf. 40. 8 *plauastro vehens* ; 41. 2 *sellis sedere*.

19 *capita originis*] 'mother cities', lit. 'chief towns of the starting place'.

20 *coloniis missis*] Livy regards the Etruscans in Etruria as the first immigrants of their race ; it is more probable that the Etruscans in the north of Italy, afterwards conquered by the Gauls, were the earliest settlers and that they sent colonies to the south. See Introduction § 6.

21 § 10. *Venetorum*] The Veneti or Eneti, who were probably an Illyrian race, were identified by Livy (1. 1. 2) with the *Eneti* of Paphla-

gonia mentioned by Homer, and he relates that they entered Italy with the Trojans (I. 1. 3).

- 23 § 11. *Raetis*] The Raetians are supposed to have been connected with the Etruscans. Cf. Plin. *N. H.* III. 133 *Raetos, Tuscorum prolem, arbitrantur a Gallis pulsos duce Raeto.*

ne quid] instead of *ut nihil* as if a verb of negative meaning preceded; cf. 34. 4 *excirent, ne qua...posset.*

- 24 *ex antiquo*] 'of their original state'. See n. on 28. 5.
nec eum] = *et ne eum quidem.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

- 26 § 1. *De transitu*] In this and the following chapter Livy gives an account of the original immigration of the Gauls into Italy, an event which he regards as contemporaneous with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. See Intro. § 11.

Prisco Tarquinio] The usual order is reversed; cf. IV. 15. 4 *Conlatinum Tarquinium.*

- 27 *Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est*] Cf. Caes. *B. G.* I. 1. 1 *Gallia est omnis divisa in partis tres quarum...tertiam (incolunt) qui ipsorum lingua Celtæ, nostra Galli appellantur.* Livy generally uses *Galli*, the name usually employed by the Romans.

- 28 *Bituriges*] They were settled not far from the *Liger* (Loire) with the capital *Avaricum.*

- p. 43. 1 *Celtico*] 'the Celtic nation'. Similarly Livy (XXVIII. 24. 6) uses *hosticum*, Ovid (*Trist.* v. 13. 1) *Geticum.*

§ 2. *fuit*] sc. at the time of Tarquinius Priscus; aorist in contrast to *dabant* ('they used always to give').

- 2 *sua...publica*] with *fortuna* only; 'eminent for his prowess and for his own prosperity as much as for that of his state'.

- 3 *frugum fertilis*] Adjectives denoting fulness, richness etc., are used with the genitive in the poets and in the later prose writers, rarely in Cicero or Sallust; cf. Verg. *Aen.* I. 14 *dives opum.*

- 5 § 3. *magno natu*] abl. of quality. The phrase is frequently found in Livy (III. 58. 1; 71. 3). For the position of *iam* cf. 1. 4.

- 7 *in quas...sedis*] i.e. *in eas sedis quas di dedissent.* This attraction of the relative into the case of the antecedent, though not so frequent as in Greek, is not unknown in Latin. Cf. Caes. *B. G.* III. 15 *cum essent in quibus demonstravi angustiis*; Hor. *Sat.* I. 6. 15 *iudice quo nosti populo.*

- 8 *auguriis*] Cf. *sortibus* § 4; they refer to the omens drawn by the Druids from the flight of birds etc.
- 9 § 4. *ne qua*] = *ut nulla*; see n. on 33. 11.
- 10 *Hercynei saltus*] The uplands of South Germany, from which in later times the Gauls were driven westward by the Germans. *Caes. B. G.* VI. 24. 1 and *Tac. Germ.* 28 both refer to the Gauls having been previously settled there.
- 11 § 5. *regis ex populis*] See Critical Appendix.
- 12 *Bituriges*] Livy does not mean that the whole of these tribes joined Bellovesus, but that he took from each the superfluous population. They are in a loose apposition to *quod...abundabat*, while strictly they should be in agreement with *populis*. The names of the *Bituriges*, *Arverni*, *Senones* and *Carnutes* are preserved in the modern names of *Bourges*, *Auvergne*, *Sens*, *Chartres*.
- 13 *ingentibus copiis*] The abl. denoting military accompaniment is used with or without *cum*: cf. 53. 6 *si iam novis copiis veniant*.
- 14 *Tricastinos*] not far east of the Rhone, and south of the *Isara*. Livy, XXI. 31. 9, relates that Hannibal *in Tricastinos flexit* on his march to the Alps.
- 15 § 6. *inde*] To the east of that district.
- 16 *nulladum*] 'none as yet'. This form is used in several passages by Livy (cf. III. 50. 16 *nullodum certo duce*), but is rarely used by other writers.
quod...sit] 'as far at least as tradition extends'. For *quod* in this sense see n. on 50. 2.
continens sit] The participle *continens* with *esse* is regularly used, as the verb *contineo* in a neuter sense scarcely occurs; cf. 39. 8 *timori...ipsum malum continens fuit*; *Cic. ad Fam.* XV. 2. 2 *pars ea quae cum Cilicia continens est*.
- 17 *nisi*] ironical = *nisi forte* which occurs in 3. 7.
de Hercule] In I. 7. 4 Livy gives the tale of Hercules visiting Italy, but he does not say that he crossed the Alps.
- 19 § 7. *iuncta caelo iuga*] Cf. XXI. 32. 7 *nives caelo prope immixtae*.
- 20 *religio*] 'feeling of religious obligation'; i.e. to help others who were in the same plight as themselves.
tenuit] 'checked them (from crossing the Alps)'.
- 21 *Salyum*] See Critical Appendix. The *Salyes* or *Salluvii* (35. 2) were settled on the coast to the east of the Rhone.
- 22 § 8. *Massilienses*] The title is used proleptically, as the town was not yet founded.

- 23 *quem primum...locum*] For the order cf. I. I. 3 *in quem primum egressi sunt locum*. The subject to *occupaverant* is *Massilienses*.
- 24 *patientibus Salyis*] See Critical Appendix.
- 25 *per Taurinos saltus*] See Critical Appendix. The *Taurini* were a Ligurian tribe on the east side of the Cottian Alps (whose name survives in *Turin*), and the *Duria* was a river flowing from the Alps into the Po. Livy represents Hannibal as following the same route, so that the *Taurini* were the first tribe he came upon after crossing (xxi. 38. 5). Mommsen thinks that in both cases Livy is mistaken and that the Gauls and Hannibal both came over the Graian Alps.
- 26 § 9. *Tusci*] The Etruscans then extended to the Alps, *omnia loca usque ad Alpis tenuere* (33. 10).
haud procul flumine] See n. on 45. 2.
- 27 *agrum*] does double duty; *agrum in quo consederant* is subject, *agrum Insubrium* predicate.
- 28 *cognominem*] See Critical Appendix. The adjective *cognominis* occurs in Plautus and Vergil (*Aen.* vi. 383), but not in prose before Livy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

- 31 § 1. *Cenommanorum*] is an explanation of *alia*, 'another band consisting of the C.' The *Cenomani* were a branch of the *Aulerci* mentioned in 34. 5.
- p. 44. 1 *favente*] should be taken in agreement with *salto*, and governing *Belloveso*; the present participle, although it usually denotes an action contemporaneous with that of the principal verb, is sometimes used like an aorist, referring to an act relatively past; cf. xxiv. 7. 11 *Romam veniens comitia edixit*.
- 2 *locos tenuere*] 'had their settlements'. In this sense *loca* is the usual form in Livy.
§ 2. *Libui*] mentioned in xxi. 38. 7 (*ad Libuos Gallos*) as a Gallic tribe.
- 3 *Salluvii*] identical with the Salyes mentioned in 34. 7 as attacking the Massilians, and then making terms with them and with the Gauls. They seem to have joined the Gauls in their expedition to Italy.
Laevos] The *Laevi* (cf. xxxiii. 37. 6) dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Ticinus and are described by Pliny *N. H.* iii. 124 as Ligurians.
- 4 *Poenino*] an abl. which combines the ideas of place and of means; the same expression occurs in xxi. 38. 6. The *Poeninus* (the modern Great St Bernard) is to the north of the Cottian pass (Mt Cenis).

- 7 *agro pellunt*] In Cicero the simple ablative after *pellere* is rarely found except with some particular words, *civitate, domo, foro, patria*.
intra Appenninum] sc. from the point of view of the Gauls, i.e. north of the Apennines.
- 8 § 3. *Senones*] a powerful tribe, whose struggle with the Romans was continued for some centuries. Some of them had joined in the expedition of Bellovesus (34. 5), and the main body were afterwards settled on the coast of the Adriatic.
- 9 *finis habuere*] 'occupied the territory'. *Finis* is used not in the sense of boundaries, but of the territory enclosed by certain boundaries: cf. 36. 3 *si...partem finium concedant*.
hanc] emphatic, 'this I find is the tribe which etc.'
- 11 *solanne...adiutam*] This clause should be governed by *parum certum est*, but it is irregularly put in agreement with *gentem*, and *parum certum est* has no influence on the construction.
- 13 § 4. *Clusini*] The narrative broken off in 33. 4 is resumed.
- 15 *cis Padum ultraque*] For the order cf. IX. 32. 9 *ante signa circaque*.
- 17 *adversus Romanos...adversus populum*] *Adversus* is used in two different senses, first to express the general relation between the two nations, secondly to express hostile action.
- 19 *legatos*] This embassy implies that Rome's power was recognised in Southern Etruria and that the Etruscans were not strong enough by themselves to resist the Gauls.
- 21 § 5. *M. Fabi*] M. Fabius Ambustus, son of the Decemvir Q. Fabius Vibulanus. His three sons Quintus, Numerius and Kaeso were elected consular tribunes for the next year (36. 10).
- 23 *socios populi...amicos*] Where a genitive belongs to two nouns Livy prefers to put it between them; cf. 27. 1 *magistro liberorum et comite*; in 6. 3 *venandi* is put first for emphasis. We must assume that the Romans had taken the Clusians under their protection, as otherwise this description would be inconsistent with § 4.
- 24 § 6. *quoque*] Strictly *quoque* links one fact to another of the same nature without marking a gradation, while *etiam* does mark a gradation. Sometimes, however, as here and in 47. 6 *quoque* is used in the sense of *etiam*.
si cogat...si posset] The latter contingency is expressed less vividly and regarded as more remote than the former.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

- 28 § 1. *Mitis legatio*] sc. *erat*. This is an instance of the elliptical conditional sentence; 'the embassy was of a peaceful nature, (and would have had no serious consequences) unless etc.'
- 30 *concilio*] See n. on 17. 6.
- 31 § 2. *novum*] emphatic, 'for the first time'.
- p. 45. 1 *audiant*] In this oratio obliqua primary tenses are used throughout except in § 4. See n. on 2. 9.
- credere*] The subject *se* is omitted as in § 4 with *velle*. Instances of this omission occur above, 15. 6; 22. 6.
- 3 § 3. *legatione*] used absolutely='by negotiation'; this implies a desire for peace and explains the emphasis in *ne se quidem pacem aspernari*.
- 6 *finium*] See n. on 35. 3.
- aliter*] = *alia condicione*.
- 8 § 4. *coram eisdem Romanis*] Notice the emphasis gained by the repetition of the words *coram Romanis* and the addition of *eisdem*.
- 9 *quantum*] See n. on 10. 5; cf. § 6 *tantum eminebat* and Cic. *de Rep.* II. 2 *tantum ceteris praestitisse*. *Praestare*, which is found in Cicero with the dative, is treated by Livy as if it were transitive; cf. III. 61. 7 *praestate virtute peditem*.
- 10 § 5. *quodnam id ius esset*] 'what right they had to seek'; *id* refers to the proposals of the Gauls.
- 14 *discurritur*] Notice the contrast in *discurritur*, *conseritur*, 'they separated to take arms and then joined battle'.
- § 6. *urgentibus...fatis*] See n. on 22. 8. The fates act independently of, or in combination with, the gods (see n. on 16. 8), and fulfil the Nemesis which men bring down on themselves by their own rash acts; thus Livy gives the ethical side of the destruction of Rome. The neglect of the divine warning (32. 7), the lawless act of the Roman ambassadors and the fatal security of the Roman magistrates (37. 1) brought upon Rome the vengeance of heaven.
- 15 *ius gentium*] denoted the principles of law common to Rome and to the different Italian communities, with which Rome came into contact (as opposed to *ius civile* the law made by and for the citizens). In course of time *ius gentium* came to be regarded as identical with the law of nature: in the next chapter (§ 4) Livy uses the term *ius humanum*; cf. n. on 27. 6.
- 16 *id*] explained by the clause *cum...pugnarent*.

clam] For other adverbs used as predicates in Livy cf. II. 23. 14 *prope erat, ut*; XXIII. 44. 1 *sero iam esse*. *Clam* is so used by Plautus, *Truc.* IV. 3. 21 *clam quae speravi fore*; Lucr. V. 1157 *id fore clam*. Cic. *de Fin.* I. 50 in a passage similar to that of Lucretius says *fore semper occultum*.

ante signa] 'in the van', see n. on 18. 8. Livy supposes the arrangement of the Roman army to have been kept by the Etruscans; the phrase *evectus extra aciem* in the next section shows that *ante signa* denotes in the ranks and not in front of them.

20 § 7. *in ipsa signa*] i.e. the Gaul had penetrated the first line.

21 *spolia legentem*] *Spolia legere* is properly applied to *collecting* the spoils from the enemy after a battle (39. 1), here to stripping a single foe.

23 *signum datum*] 'word is passed'. *Signum dare* with the acc. and inf. gives the substance of a reported fact, with *ut* and the subj. gives an order (II. 20. 5 *dat signum ut...pro hoste habeant*).

§ 8. *receptui*] 'for retreat', dative of purpose.

25 *vicere...ut*] 'prevailed', used absolutely of gaining a disputed point like *νικάω*.

26 *postulatum ut*] See n. on 15. 3.

27 *pro iure violato*] 'in satisfaction for the violation of'.

30 § 9. *decerneret*] More often Livy uses the plural to describe the action of the senate; cf. *reiciunt* in § 10.

in...viris] See n. on 11. 16.

31 *ambitio*] 'political influence', cf. 1. 3.

p. 46. 1 § 10. *ipsos*] emphatic = 'themselves alone'.

cladis, si forte, acceptae] See Critical Appendix. *Si forte acceptae* is put elliptically for *acceptae, si forte acciperetur*; for this use of *si forte* (= *εἰ τύχοι*) cf. Cic. *pro Mil.* § 104 *Hicine vir in patria morietur, aut si forte pro patria*.

2 *populum*] in the Comitia Centuriata, as the magistrates seem to have been appointed forthwith.

reiciunt] This word is often used, where a magistrate refers a matter which he might decide himself to another authority. Cf. 20. 9;

22. 1.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

10 § 1. *moles mali*] 'danger of such magnitude'. The alliteration is designed; cf. IV. 54. 6 *multarum magnarumque rerum molem*.

obcaecat animos fortuna] an instance of Livy's fatalism : men neglect the warnings of the gods, and bring their fate upon themselves. See n. on 36. 6 and cf. the proverb, *quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat*.

11 *refringi*] 'checked, foiled'; cf. Caes. *B. G.* VII. 56 *vim fluminis refringere*.

12 *quae*] = 'although'.

13 *hostem*] collective, see n. on 2. 1.

14 *auxilia*] The plural is generalizing, as it is obvious that the appointment of a dictator is meant.

tempestatibus] = *temporibus* as in 45. 1. This use was general in archaic Latin and was revived by Sallust.

15 § 2. *ea*] resumptive, used to lay emphasis on the relative clause; cf. VI. 26. 6 *pacem, quam nos praestitimus, eam a vobis petimus*.

ab Oceano] The Ocean was regarded as the boundary of the world, and Gaul extended to the Ocean; but the phrase is inappropriate to the Cisalpine Gauls.

16 *bellum ciente*] Livy uses more frequently *bellum concire* or *concitare* (5. 11); in 47. 4 we have *ciere ad arma*. This is a vivid phrase 'rousing war'; cf. I. 12. 2 *pugnam ciebant*; Verg. *Aen.* I. 541 *bella cient*. *Bellum contrahere* (§ 3) is also a rare phrase, cf. XLIV. 40. 3 *contraxit certamen*.

17 § 3. *tribuni*] should be taken with *praecerant*. 'Those men were tribunes in supreme command, by whose'.

18 *dilectum...habebant*] Livy represents the defeat at the Allia as brought upon the Romans by their own over-confidence (cf. § 7 *tumultuario exercitu*); other authorities tell us that all the military forces of the state and of the allies were called out. See Introduction § 12.

19 *media*] = *mediocria*, 'ordinary'; cf. II. 49. 5 *nihil medium sed immensa omnia volventes animo*.

20 § 4. *interim*] See n. on 13. 9.

21 *violatoribus iuris humani*] Cf. IV. 19. 2 *hicine est, inquit, ruptor foederis humani violatorque gentium iuris*. On *ius humanum*, see n. on 36. 6. *Violator* was first used in prose by Livy.

24 § 5. *ad...tumultum*] *Ad* is often used in a temporal sense to denote occasion or cause; cf. 42. 4 *paventes ad omnia*; 46. 2 *nihil ad vocem...motus*.

25 *tumultum*] a word especially applied to a rising of the Gauls or to a civil outbreak, either of which would require military operations in Italy; cf. Cic. *Phil.* VIII. 1. 2 *Itaque maiores nostri tumultum Italicum quod erat domesticus; tumultum Gallicum, quod erat Italiae finitimus, praeter ea nullum nominabant*. The word is appropriate to the violent and

impetuous method of fighting of the Gauls; cf. XXI. 16. 4 *cum Gallis tumultuatum magis quam belligeratum*.

27 *equis virisque*] the usual expression for 'horse and foot'.

p. 47. 1 § 6. *deinceps inde*] For this expression, cf. I. 44. 3 *inde deinceps*; II. 47. 11 *deinde deinceps*.

2 *celeritas hostium*] The new consular tribunes entered office on July 1 (cf. 32. 1), when the demands of the Gauls had already been rejected, the battle of the Allia did not take place till July 18 (VI. 1. 11), so that the Romans had time enough to prepare.

3 § 7. *quippe quibus*] with indicative. In early Latin the indicative was usual, in the best period the subjunctive; Livy uses both indicative and subjunctive, the latter more frequently than the former.

velut] with *tumultuario*.

tumultuario] On the occasion of a *tumultus* (see n. on § 5) a levy *en masse* was made (*exercitus tumultuarius* opposed to the regular levy *exercitus iustus*).

4 *lapidem*] See n. on 4. 12.

Alia] Both *Alia* and *Allia* occur. The former prevails in Livy; cf. 39. 6 and 8.

5 *praealto alveo*] abl. of place without preposition, see n. on 33. 9.

6 *infra viam*] *Via Salaria* from Rome to Crustumerium.

§ 8. *omnia contra circaque*] See n. on 26. 5.

7 *nata in tumultus*] *Natus* (=naturally disposed to, made for) is found in Livy with a dat. (XXII. 4. 2 *loca nata insidiis*) or with *in* or *ad* (54. 4) and the acc.

8 *conpleverant*] plural referring to the individuals comprised in the collective singular *gens*; cf. 48. 3.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

10 § 1. *loco castris capto*] This final dative is frequent in this phrase (IV. 9. 13); in 54. 4 we have *urbi condendae locus*.

11 *non deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores*] 'regardless not only of men but even of the gods'. *Si non* is almost invariably found with some adversative adverb *saltem, certe, tamen*; *deorum saltem, si non hominum, memores* would be quite regular, but here the whole phrase is negated, and the meaning is obscured.

12 *nec auspicato nec litato*] See n. on II. 7. *Litato* is not used elsewhere; *litare*=to make an offering which exhibits favourable omens, to obtain favourable omens (=καλλιερεῖν). Usually the sacrifice was repeated

until it was successful; in this case the tribunes added irreligion to their other faults.

- 13 *diductam in cornua*] 'drawing out their line towards the wings'=*ita ut diduceretur*. *Diductam* is simultaneous with *instruant*, see n. on II. 2 *repulsi*.

- 15 § 2. *cum*] 'although', as in § 5.

- 16 *paulum...editi loci*] 'a small eminence'.

- 17 *ab dextera*] 'on the right'. The preposition *ab* sometimes denoted rest in a place, and in this sense was especially used in military phrases *a fronte*, *ab latere*, *a tergo* (§ 6). Cf. *ab omni parte* 45. 2; *ab ea via* (28. 16).

- 19 § 3. *regulus*] Cf. 48. 8; the word is used by Livy to denote the chief of a tribe.

- 20 *ad id*] explained by *ut...darent*.

- 21 *recta fronte*] 'front to front'; cf. XXII. 47. 2 *frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat*.

- 22 *inpetum darent*] often in Livy instead of the more usual *inpetum facere* (which he uses in 43. 1 and 3); cf. II. 19. 7. So *viam dare* is used III. 48. 3.

- 23 § 4. *si...depulisset*] dependent on *dubius* and the condition to *victoriam fore*.

- 24 *haud dubius*] constructed like *non dubito* (3. 4) with acc. and inf. See n. on 16. 10.

in aequo campi] For *in aequo* see n. on 43. 2, and for the gen. *campi* see n. on 29. 4.

superanti] usually interpreted as a dat. qualified by *multitudine*=*sibi cum multitudine superaret*; *superanti multitudine* might be an ablative of cause as the words should probably be taken in agreement.

- 25 *adeo*] 'so true is it that'; see n. on 6. 15.

- 26 § 5. *altera*] = *Romanorum*.

nihil...non] For the double negative cf. 2. 9.

simile Romanis] See n. on 28. 3.

- 28 *fuga*] 'dismay'; cf. I. 28. 5 *ut...terror ac fuga iniceretur omnium*] = *omnium rerum*: see n. on 19. 6.

- 29 *in hostium urbem*] an exaggeration as Veii was deserted and belonged to the Romans. On Livy's account of the battle see Introduction § 12.

- 32 § 6. *simul*] = *simul ac*.

proximis...ultimis] dat. on the agent. *Proximi* denotes the Romans on the right wing, who were the first to be attacked; the Gauls after

routing them pressed on to the rear of the Romans and attacked the centre and left wing (*ultimi*) from behind.

p. 48. 1 *ignotum*] put first out of its natural order for emphasis.

3 *integri intactique*] 'fresh and unwounded'.

4 § 7. *suomet ipsorum certamine*] qualifies *impedientium*. *Suomet* refers, not to the subject of the sentence, but to the subject of *impedientium*. In many cases *suus*, which is the possessive of the reflexive, seems to lose its reflexive sense and = his, their *own*; cf. XXXVIII. 41. 7 *fuga inde caedesque, suis ipsos impedientibus angustiis*.

7 § 8. *gravis*] passive, as in 16. 5.

8 *hausere gurgites*] 'the currents sucked down'.

9 § 9. *perfugit*] 'succeeded in fleeing, reached in their flight'.

non modo] Where two clauses have the same predicate *non modo* (or *non solum* 42. 3) is used in the first clause in the sense of *non modo non*, if *ne...quidem* occurs in the second; where the predicates are different *non modo non* is used as in § 6.

10 *ne nuntius quidem*] See n. on 49. 6.

11 § 10. *sub monte*] The *Colles Crustumini* which run parallel to the south bank of the Tiber.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

14 § 1. *Gallos quoque*] 'the Gauls for their part'; cf. 43. 1 *Galli quoque*. The position of the substantive and the adverb both serve to emphasize the conduct of the Gauls in contrast to that of the Romans.

miraculum] with the epexegetic gen. *victoriae*; cf. 46. 3 *miraculum audaciae*.

15 *defixi*] 'rooted to the spot', corresponds to *obstupefactos*.

16 *primum*] Notice the succession of temporal adverbs *primum*, *deinde*, *postremo*, *tum demum*, and cf. §§ 5—8.

17 *spolia legere*] See n. on 36. 7.

18 *legere*] The historical inf. follows a perfect *steterunt* and is followed by an historical present *perveniunt*.

19 § 2. *postquam...cernebatur*] See n. on 10. 11.

nihil hostile] 'no hostile movement'.

20 *ante solis occasum*] Diodorus and Polybius make two or three days elapse between the battle and the occupation of Rome.

22 *stationem*] probably distributive referring to the different gates.

23 *aliud...miraculum*] 'this second marvel'.

25 § 3. *Anienem*] the river Anio, which flowed into the Tiber a little to the north of Rome.

- 26 *alias*] usually interpreted as 'the gates as well'; we may, however, take it = *ceteras*, and suppose that the *portae* in § 2 are only the gates on the side of Rome first approached by the Gauls.

quaenam...essent] The clause is dependent on the verbal idea contained in *exploratoribus* = *eis qui explorarent*.

in perdita re] 'in their desperate case'; the phrase more often occurs in the plural as in 46. 7.

- 27 § 4. *Romani*] The passage seems hopelessly corrupt; see Critical Appendix. The reading given in the text is that adopted by the editors. *Romani* must not be taken in agreement with *conplorati omnes*; from its position at the beginning of the sentence it is obvious that Livy is contrasting the action of the Romans in the city with that of the Gauls outside. The sentence results in an anacoluthon, as *conplorati omnes* (=mourning for all) is inserted as an additional subject to *inpleverunt*, although it should properly be part of the dependent clause.

p. 49. I *vivi mortuique*] 'whether dead or living'; this phrase occurs again XXII. 55. 3; for this use of *que* see n. on 26. 8.

- 3 § 5. *luctus*] The plural refers to the mourning of the different households.

stupefecit] 'stunned, overwhelmed'. For this use of *stupefacio* with an abstract substantive as the object cf. XXV. 38. 2 *nisi metus maerorem obstupefaceret*; the neuter verb *stupeo* is used in a similar way *stupenti ita seditione* (XXVIII. 25. 2). The following description is a most vivid piece of narration, and may be compared with the account of the panic after Cannae, XXII. 54, 55.

- 5 *turmatim*] 'in squadrons (of cavalry)'.

§ 6. *omne inde tempus*] 'all the intervening time'. For the use of temporal adverbs as attributes see n. on 16. 2 and cf. XXII. 61. 10 *omni deinde vita*.

- 7 *identidem iam*] 'every moment...immediately', explained by *primo adventu...deinde...tum*.

- 8 *quia accesserant...quia...supererat*] Both reasons are stated as facts, although it would be more natural for them to be given as part of the oratio obliqua.

- 9 *hoc consili*] a mannerism for *hoc consilium*. See n. on 5. 5 and cf. *plurimum terroris* (37. 6). Cicero has *hoc consili* (*pro Cluent.* § 71); *hoc rationis* (*pro Caec.* § 2).

- 11 § 7. *ratis*] See Critical Appendix. This is probably an ablative absolute, with the subject omitted; cf. IV. 44. 7 (*ratis*); IV. 60. 1 (*fatentibus*). It might be taken as dat. with *videtur*.

- 12 § 8. *exanimare*] 'deprived them of their senses'.
 13 *continens fuit*] 'there was no interval between'. For the use of the
 participle see n. on 34. 6.
 16 *civitas*] 'citizens'.
 18 § 9. *placuit*] This represents the decision of the senate and magis-
 trates.
 19 *robur*] abstract collective substantive, as are *civitas* (§ 8) and *inven-*
tus.
in arcem Capitoliumque] The Capitoline hill has two summits with
 a hollow between: the southern summit was the Capitolium, containing
 the great national temple, the northern was the citadel of Rome. Some-
 times one word is used to denote both summits, see n. on 40. 4.
 20 § 10. *inde*] in a local sense, explained by *ex loco munito*. See
 Critical Appendix.
 21 *Romanum nomen*] See n. on 22. 8.
 § 11. *flaminem*] In VII. 20. 4 three *flamines* are said to have sought
 refuge at Caere, but the *flamen Quirinalis* is mentioned here and in 40.
 7 because he had especial duties in connection with the worship of Vesta
 and took part in the preservation of the *sacra*.
 22 *sacerdotesque Vestalis*] more usually called *virgines Vestales* or *Ves-*
tales; in 40. 10 they are called *sacerdotes publicae*.
 23 *auferre...deseri*] For the combination of active and passive after an
 impersonal verb, see n. on 20. 8; cf. 30. 3.
 26 § 12. *facilem iacturam*] 'a light sacrifice'; see n. on 5. 8.
esse] for *fore* cf. 15. 11.
 27 *seniorum*] depends on *turbae*.
utique] 'in any case, anyhow'. This must have been the original
 meaning of the word, and in 51. 2 (*ut ego utique in patria essem*) it has
 the same force. It was used also in a somewhat different sense, limiting
 a statement to a certain time, place or condition (= *certe, saltem*) and
 examples of this use we have in 24. 7; 53. 3 (*nunc utique*).
 28 § 13. *de plebe multitudo*] *De plebe* is used in place of a defining
 genitive; see n. on 12. 9: the phrase is used with a notion of con-
 tempt.
 29 *triumphales*] Of the generals who are known to have triumphed within
 sixty years *L. Valerius Potitus* (31. 4) was probably the only one then
 alive.
 30 *his*] See n. on 2. 3.
 31 *inopiam armatorum*] See n. on *mollitiae*, 6. 5.

CHAPTER XL.

- p. 50. I § 1. *morti destinatos*] Livy also uses *ad* with the acc. after *destinare*; II. 54. 4 *ad mortem destinari*. Cf. 4I. I *obstinato ad mortem animo*.
- 3 *in Capitolium atque in arcem*] The repetition of the preposition serves to distinguish the two places; some went to the Capitol, others to the citadel.
- 4 *iuventae*] a poetic word first used in prose by Livy who always uses *iuventus* in a collective sense (= *iuvenes*).
urbis] placed first in the sentence for emphasis: *fortuna* is attracted into the relative sentence.
- 6 § 2. *digredientibus*] abl. abs.; the subject to the participle is contained in the relative clause *qui...ferebant*, and the pronoun is omitted because *eis* occurs below.
- 8 § 3. *species*] a favourite word of Livy's; cf. 4I. 4 *belli speciem*.
- 9 *muliebris*] The adjective is used instead of a genitive (see n. on 2. 14) and the participle *sequentium* is put as if *mulierum* actually occurred.
- 10 *hos...illos*] = τοὺς μὲν, τοὺς δέ, sc. their husbands, who were to be left behind, and their sons who were going to the Capitol.
rogitantium] See n. on 2. 3 *dictitantes*.
- 11 *nihil...mali*] 'left no element of human misery that could be added'.
- 12 § 4. *arcem*] used here and in 4I. 1 to include both *arx* and *Capitolium*; see n. on 39. 9.
- 13 *nec vocante*] 'nor inviting them' (in contrast to *prohibente*). In 39. 9, however, Livy tells us that it was decided that women and children should go to the Capitol.
- 14 *obsessis*] See n. on 26. 9.
- 15 § 5. *maxime*] See n. on 7. 2; *plebis* explains *alia*, cf. 35. 1.
- 16 *capere*] 'contain'.
collis alere poterat] for the personification cf. § 7 *quisve locus adservaturus esset*.
- 17 *agmine iam uno*] 'forming at last one continuous line'.
- 18 *Ianiculum*] The hill beyond the Tiber, fortified by Ancus Martius (I. 33. 6) as an outpost against Etruria but not regarded as part of the city.
- § 6. *dilapsi*] 'dispersed', as in 4I. 5. With *pars dilapsi* cf. 4I. 1 *turba regressi*.
- 20 *communibus deploratis*] 'despairing of the public interests'. *Communibus* might conceivably be for *communibus rebus* (as *omnibus* is

frequently used, see n. on 19. 6), it is better perhaps to supply *consiliis* from *consilia*. *Deplorare*, used properly of mourning for the dead, acquired the metaphorical sense of 'weeping for a thing as lost, regarding as lost, despairing of'; cf. IX. 7. 1.

23 § 7. *deerant*] The oblique mood would be more natural.

25 § 8. *in doliolis*] *Doliola* (earthen vessels); the spot where these were buried (near the Cloaca Maxima) afterwards bore the name of *Doliola*.

sacello proximo] On the ablative of place where without a preposition see n. on 33. 9. There are several instances in this chapter; *via*, *ponte* are partly local, partly modal in sense, they denote the way *along which* movement takes place (cf. 35. 2 *Poenino*); contrast *plaustro* in § 9 with *in vehiculo* in § 10.

26 *despui religio est*] See nn. on *religioni fuisse* and *vinciri*, 13. 8.

27 *sublicio ponte*] the oldest bridge over the Tiber, which was traditionally supposed to have been built by Ancus Martius, at the same time as the fortification of the Janiculum (1. 33. 6).

28 § 9. *de plebe homo*] Cf. 32. 6 and see n. on 12. 9.

29 *vehens*] See Critical Appendix.

p. 51. 1 § 10. *religiosum*] See Critical Appendix.

sacerdotes publicas] sc. *Virgines Vestalis*, see n. on 39. 11.

2 *pedibus ire ferrique*] The first inf. is appropriate only to *sacerdotes*, the second to *sacra*.

CHAPTER XLI.

6 § 1. *omnibus*] = *omnibus rebus*; see n. on 19. 6.

ut in tali re] 'considering the state of affairs': *ut* is limitative not explanatory.

7 *turba...regressi*] The use of a masculine plural with a feminine collective noun is frequent; it is necessary here (as in 40. 6) as the idea of separate action comes in ('each to his own home').

10 § 2. *fortunae honorumque ac virtutis*] For the variety of conjunctions cf. 2. 12. Here *fortunae* (rank) and *honorum* (office) are closely connected, and *virtutis* (prowess) which is distinct from both is introduced by a different conjunction.

11 *augustissima vestis*] During a triumph the magistrate wore the *toga picta* and the *tunica palmata*, and the same decorations were worn by the principal magistrates in the *pompa Circi*, when the images of the gods were carried in sacred carriages called *tensae*. These *insignia*

were, however, not owned by private individuals and were kept in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Livy's words must not be taken too strictly; he means that the magistrates sat in their robes of office; and as it was usual for magistrates to be burnt after death in their robes of office, this was a sign that they devoted themselves to death.

13 *medio aedium*] This abl. and *eburneis sellis* are both used without a preposition, which Livy often omits with *sedere*; cf. 40. 8; I. 34. 8. For *medium* used as a substantive with a partitive genitive cf. I. 57. 9 *in medio aedium sedentem* and see n. on 29. 4. In the passage just quoted *medium aedium* denotes the *atrium*, here the phrase seems to be used vaguely for the space before the houses, as in § 8 Livy says that they sat *in aedium vestibulis*.

14 § 3. *pontifice maximo praefante*] Several cases are recorded, where Roman citizens devoted themselves to death in the belief that the sacrifice of their life would bring salvation to their country and ruin on their foes. In such cases the *pontifex* repeated the formal *devotio* (here called *carmen*). There is an instance of this practice in VIII. 9. 5.

praefante] *Praeire* is the word generally used; cf. VIII. 9. 4 *pontifex ...praei verba quibus me devoveam*.

pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis] The proper formal description of the Romans was *populus Romanus Quiritium*.

15 § 4. *et quia...et quod*] The conjunctions are varied without implying any difference of meaning.

17 *in acie*] in opposition to *tum*. They had not fought a critical battle, nor were they then trying to take the city by assault. The imperfect *capiebant* denotes effort or intention.

19 *postero die*] See n. on 39. 2 *ante solis occasum*.

22 § 5. *in dissipatos*] = *in eos, si dissipati essent*. So in § 6 *vagos* is conditional.

24 *proxima quaeque*] The plural of *quisque*, which is properly used with nouns which have no singular (such as *castra*) or to denote groups of persons or things, is also used regularly with the neuter plural of the superlative.

agmine] The ablative of manner without an adjective is used like an adverb; the same word occurs in this use in 21. 12; 45. 5; 55. 1.

25 *velut ea intacta*] = *velut si...essent*. *Velut* is sometimes used with a participle in Livy; in this passage however the subject *ea* is inserted and the emphatic adverb *demum*, just as if *velut* introduced a dependent sentence with a finite verb.

27 § 6. *vagos*] 'stragglers'.

28 § 7. *atriis*] The *atrium*, which was the most important part of every Roman house, was generally opposite to the principal entrance.

29 *cunctatio invadendi*] Cf. 48. 3 *pigritia sepeliendi* and see n. on 13. 2.

30 § 8. *adeo*] See n. on 6. 15.

31 *in aedium vestibulis*] The *vestibulum* was the open space between the street and the door leading to the *atrium*. In the houses of the rich this door was frequently thrown back some little distance.

praeter ornatum] 'not only in their garb and bearing.' Livy describes Hercules in similar terms, I. 7. 9.

p. 52. 4 § 9. *suam*] refers to the principal subject *M. Papirius*.

ut tum...erat] The custom of shaving the face was introduced at Rome from Sicily about 90 years later; it was not universal till the time of Hadrian. Tibull. II. 1. 34; Ov. *Fast.* II. 30 talk of *intonsi avi*.

5 *scipione eburneo*] The ivory staff, tipped with gold, was one of the *insignia* of the *triumphator*. Papirius had been consul and consular tribune, but Livy does not record any triumph celebrated by him.

6 *ceteros...trucidatos*] For acc. and inf. after *dicitur* see n. on I. 8.

7 § 10. *nulli*] The dat. of *nullus* is not often used. Cicero and the Augustan writers preferred the forms *nemo* and *nemini*, but they used *nullius*, *nullo*; see n. on 19. 5.

8 *mortalium*] See n. on 7. 3.

CHAPTER XLII.

9 § 1. *delendi libido*] See n. on 13. 2 *dulcedo creandi*.

10 *ita*] explained by the two clauses introduced by *et, et*.

11 *si...possent*] 'to see whether'. See n. on I. 9.

12 *sedum*] This form is found in some manuscripts in Cic. *pro Sest.* 20. 45, although *sedes* is an *i*-stem; cf. *mensum* III. 24. 4; *vatum*, Verg. *Aen.* IV. 464.

16 § 2. *passim...late*] = in many directions...over a great expanse; 'either indiscriminately or extensively'.

19 § 3. *non...solum*] used like *non modo*; see n. on 38. 9 and cf. Cic. *Lael.* 65.

consipere] See Critical Appendix.

auribus...constare] *Constare* = have command over; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* IV. 17. 39 *mente constare*, and for the phrase cf. Tac. *Ann.* III. 46 *neque oculis neque auribus competeabant*.

21 § 4. *mulierum...ploratus*] This vivid account is not free from

exaggeration; some of the women had gone to the Capitol (40. 4), others had sought refuge away from Rome, but this description implies that many were surprised in the city.

22 *avertisset*] subjunctive of repeated action, as *acciderent* in § 8; see n. on 1. 7.

23 *ad omnia*] See n. on 37. 5.

24 *ullius*] fem. = *ullius rei*; *relicti* is nom. masc. plur. parallel to *positi*; *vindices* is predicative.

26 § 5. *ante alios*] See n. on 1. 6.

umquam] *Quisquam*, *umquam*, etc., which are properly used after negatives (see n. on 3. 2), are also used regularly in comparative sentences, cf. 25. 9 *ut quae maxime umquam fuit*.

27 *a patria*] The Romans in the citadel were shut out from their city; the city, in accordance with ancient ideas, is regarded as the fatherland.

29 § 6. *excepit*] See n. on 13. 4.

inquieta] See Critical Appendix.

30 *novae semper*] 'the sight of some ever-fresh calamity'. *Semper* qualifies and emphasizes the adjective; cf. *Praef. 2 novi semper scriptores ... credunt*.

31 § 7. *nihil*] 'not a whit'.

tamen onerati] *Tamen* contrasts what follows with what precedes, but by means of an idiom frequently employed, the preceding description is summed up in the participle *onerati*, so that *tamen* seems to qualify the participle (=although); cf. Ter. *Eun.* 170 *tamen contemptus abs te haec habui in memoria*; Cic. *pro Sest.* 67. 140 *hunc tamen flagrantem invidia...ipse populus Romanus periculo liberavit*.

p. 53. 1 *flexerunt animos, quin*] See n. on 28. 1.

2 *aequata*] equivalent in sense to *aequata solo*; *flammis ac ruinis* are modal ablatives.

quamvis] with the adjectives *inopem parvumque*.

4 § 8. *velut*] qualifies the participle.

5 *abalienaverant*] See n. on 8. 7. They had lost all feeling for their own misfortune; for this sense of the verb cf. XXVI. 14. 3 *alienatis mentibus vino ab imminentis sensu mali*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

8 § 1. *quoque*] See n. on 39. 1.

10 *nihil superesse*] This and the expression in 42. 7 *omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata* are exaggerations not to be taken literally.

- 11 *nequaquam*] See Critical Appendix.
- 12 *flexuros...ni*] The future participle, as the apodosis to a conditional sentence, which is frequent in Tacitus, was first used by Livy; cf. III. 60. 8 *vallum invasurus ni copia pugnae fieret*.
- 14 § 2. *multitudo omnis*] 'a levy en masse'.
- 15 *testudine facta*] What this was is explained in XXXIV. 39. 6 *sublatis supra capita scutis continuatisque inter se testudine facta subibant*.
- 16 *nihil...trepide*] sc. *faciunt*.
stationibus firmatis] 'having strengthened the guard-posts'; cf. IV. 27. 7 *pars militum portarum stationes firmat*.
- 17 *qua...ea*] adverbs of place.
- 18 *in arduum...per proclive*] The use of the neuter adjective as a substantive, which is in general frequent in Livy, occurs most commonly with prepositions of place. There are many instances in this book; cf. 47. 4 (*in summo*); 47. 5 (*in praeceps*); 52. 7 (*in profano*). Phrases with *per* are not so common as those with other prepositions; cf. XXXVIII. 21. 3 *per arduum*.
- 20 § 3. *sua sponte*] Notice the emphatic personification; *locus* is the subject.
- 22 *temptaverint*] primary tense in a consecutive sentence.
- 23 § 4. *itaque*] See n. on I. 6.
per vim atque arma] a hendiadys more frequently found in the phrase *vi et armis*.
- 24 *et quod...et ex agris*] The two clauses are not correlative, and *inmemores* is applicable only to the first.
- 25 *frumentum*] collective; *frumenta* usually denotes the growing crops.
incendiis] The plural refers to the fires in the different parts of the city.
- 27 § 5. *partim...partim*] *Partim* can be used as a substitute for *pars*, or any case of *alii*; cf. Cic. *Phil.* VIII. 11 *Partim e nobis ita timidi sunt, partim* etc. Here *partim* supplies the subject to *praedari*, and the agent to *obsideri*.
- p. 54. 1 § 6. *ad...virtutem*] with *duxit*, not with *proficiscentis*.
- 2 *Ardeam*] Ardea lay in the Ager Romanus about twenty miles from Rome. In 442 the Romans had sent a colony to Ardea to protect the place against the Volsci (IV. 11. 4) but the town had apparently remained independent.
- 4 § 7. *dis accusandis*] The ablative of the gerund (or gerundive), which usually denotes instrument or means, is sometimes used like the present participle to denote the circumstance or manner of an action.

Cf. 22. I (*quaerendo*); II. 38. I *primores excipiens querendo indignandoque*. Tacitus even combines participle and gerund, *Ann.* xv. 38 *assurgens et populando*.

5 *senesceret*] 'languished'. For this metaphorical use, cf. 21. 13.

7 *alia*] = *cetera*.

8 § 8. *pavidos*] used like an adverb as an extension of the predicate ; cf. III. 44. 7 *pavida puella stupente*.

9 *nec secus quam*] = *nec minus quam*, while *non secus ac* = *non aliter ac*.

10 *contionem...conciliis*] On *conciliis* see n. on 17. 6. Here and in 45. I Livy uses *contio* of the assembly of a foreign state, in the same sense as *concilium*.

suetus] Elsewhere Livy uses a compound, 6. 1 *insuesco*; 6. 15 *assuesco*. The simple verb before Livy was almost entirely restricted to the poets.

CHAPTER XLIV.

12 § 1. *quando*] causal ; cf. 13. 5. The clause explains *novi cives mei*.

13 *eguit*] See Critical Appendix.

nemo] = *ne quis*, in a jussive sentence.

condicionis meae] i.e. as a new citizen, who would naturally not take upon himself to advise the community.

15 *in re trepida*] Cf. 39. 3 *in perdita re*.

17 § 2. *in me*] After *meritum in* with the acc. is usual.

18 *usus mei*] *Opus* and *usus* are sometimes found in Livy and later writers with a genitive, instead of the more usual ablative; cf. XXII.

51. 3 *temporis opus esse*.

hac] = *bellica*.

19 *steti*] in an emphatic sense, see n. on II. 11.

20 § 3. *fortuna*] with gen. of gerund = 'chance of', as in XXI. 41. 4 *conserendi manum fortuna*.

22 *exprobranda*] 'mentioned reproachfully, brought up against'. *Exprobrare* is used in the special sense of offensively reminding people of benefits previously conferred; cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 318 *exprobras, bene quod fecisti*; Cic. *Lael.* 20. 71 *odiosum genus hominum officia exprobrantium*.

23 *belli*] attributive to *decus*. Notice the combination of gerundive with gerund for variety.

25 § 4. *magna*] See n. on 4. 4.

eo] 'for that reason'; see n. on 16. 3.

- 27 § 5. *patentem*] emphatic from its position; 'the city they took, for it lay open to them'.
- 28 *exigua manu*] instrumental abl.
- 30 § 6. *hausto*] The word is strictly appropriate only to *vino*.
adpetit] *Adpetere*, which is properly a transitive verb, is sometimes used without an object, thus acquiring an intransitive sense.
- 31 *stationibus ac custodiis*] See n. on 15. 4, and on *ac* before *c* see n. on 2. 12.
- 32 *ab secundis rebus*] See n. on 5. 3.
- p. 55. 1 § 7. *in animo est*] used as the passive of *in animo habere*, which occurs in 45. 4.
- 2 *haec omnia Galliam fieri*] a graphic phrase; cf. VI. 40. 17 (referring to this time) *cum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium erant*.
- 3 *ad caedem, non ad pugnam*] Cf. 45. 3 *nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est*.
- 4 *vinctos somno*] a poetic phrase, found also in IX. 30. 9; cf. 45. 3 *soluta somno*.
- 5 *non recuso*] See n. on 28. 9.

CHAPTER XLV.

- 6 § 1. *aequis iniquisque*] 'friends and foes', a frequent antithesis; cf. XXII. 26. 5; Cic. *ad Fam.* III. 6. 6 *et aequi et iniqui*.
persuasum erat] For the pluperfect, see n. on 8. 7.
- 7 *virum*] emphatic, 'hero'.
ea tempestate] See n. on 37. 1.
- 8 *corpora curant*] See n. on 28. 10.
intenti quam mox] The passive participle *intenti* has the construction of an active verb = *expectantes*, cf. III. 37. 5 *expectabant quam mox comitia edicerentur*.
- 10 § 2. *procul urbe*] *Procul*, which in Cicero is used in combination with *ab*, in early and later writers was used with the simple ablative.
- 11 *castra*] object to both *nacti* and *invadunt*.
- 12 *ab omni parte*] 'on every side'; see n. on 38. 2.
- 14 § 3. *soluta somno*] *Solvere somno* is often used by the poets in the sense of *sopire*; cf. Verg. *Aen.* IX. 189 *somno vinoque soluti*.
- 15 *suus*] refers to *extremos*, the logical but not the grammatical subject of the sentence.

quae aut unde] The double interrogative is colloquial; cf. Cic. *Acad.* I *qui et ubi*; Plaut. *Pseud.* 963 *quis aut unde*.

- 16 *quosdam*] *Quidam*, which should denote certain definite persons, is often used by Livy in the sense of *nonnulli*, to denote a number of indefinite persons.

- 17 *palatos*] See n. on 13. 12.

- 22 § 4. *adeo nihil*] 'so far from'; *adeo*, which is commonly used to emphasize an idea by comparison or contrast, is often found in negative sentences, where the negative and the verb form one idea qualified by *adeo*; cf. III. 2. 7 *haec dicta adeo nihil moverunt*. For *nihil*=*non* cf. 27. 2.

agrum Romanum] See n. on 16. 3.

- 24 *praesidium*] so called because it was then sheltering the Roman fugitives, by whose aid Rome was afterwards delivered.

- 25 *habuerint*] primary tense, although *facerent* is in the preceding clause; see n. on 28. 12.

§ 5. *viderant*] The pluperfect here denotes an action antecedent to that denoted by the perfect in § 6 *cepit*.

- 26 *et congregatos*] They had first seen them scattered over the country (*vagantis*), then with their forces collected driving their booty; *congregatos agmine* gives a closer definition of *agentis*.

agmine] See n. on 41. 5.

- 28 § 6. *indignitas*] 'indignation'; cf. 16. 4.

- 29 *Etruscisne...esse*] The infinitive which is used in indignant exclamations, here occurs in oratio obliqua; cf. III. 58. 2 *virum iacere vinc-tum inter fures*, Verg. *Aen.* I. 37 *Mene incepto desistere victam*.

- 30 § 7. *vix temperavere quin*] See n. on 28. 1.

- 32 *centurione*] The legion was divided into sixty *centuriae*, over each of which a *centurio* was set.

- p. 56. 1 *sustinuere*] 'postponed'; cf. III. 65. 6 *dilectu sustinendū*.

- 3 § 8. *ducibus captivis*] abl. abs; cf. 15. 1 *hostibus Etruscis*.

- 4 *salinas*] Reservoirs for receiving sea water lay on both banks of the Tiber near Ostia. Their construction was attributed to the reign of Ancus Martius (I. 33. 9 *Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa faciæ*).

- 5 *ex improviso*] See n. on 14. 2.

caedem edidere] See n. on 13. 11.

- 6 *ovantes*] 'exulting', not in the technical sense, which it bears in

CHAPTER XLVI.

- 9 § 1. *evadere inter*] 'to make his way out (by passing) between'; a concise phrase similar to *egressus per medias stationes* in § 2. On *inter* with verbs of motion see n. on 27. 2.
- 10 *cum...convertit*] *Cum* with the perfect indicative (or the historical present) is frequently used to introduce the principal statement; the verb of the principal sentence is usually the imperfect or the pluperfect; cf. 7. 4; 39. 8. The historical infinitive in this use is found also in Tac. *Ann.* I. 11 *tendere, cum...iussit. admiratione...convertit*] 'attracted the wondering attention of'; *admiratione* is abl. of cause ('by reason of their surprise'). The expression is strange; *concient miraculo atque indignitate homines* in I. 59. 3 is somewhat parallel.
- 11 § 2. *statum*] 'fixed', i.e. appointed for a particular day of the year; cf. XXIII. 35. 3 *erat Campanis statum sacrificium.*
- 12 *genti Fabiae*] Each *gens* was under the protection of a special deity, to whom annual sacrifices were offered; cf. 52. 3 *sollemne Fabiae gentis.*
- 13 *Dorsuo*] This *cognomen* of the *Fabii* is found also in VII. 28. 1. The obligation of offering sacrifice may have rested in particular on the family of the *Dorsuones*; the chapel of the *Fabii*, we may conclude, was situated on the *Collis Quirinalis*.
- Gabino cinctu*] The *cinctus Gabinus* was formed by girding the *toga* tightly round the body and fastening it by one of its loose ends (*lacinae*); this method of wearing the *toga* was adopted on certain sacred occasions; cf. Verg. *Aen.* VII. 612 *Ipse Quirinali trabea cinctuque Gabino.* The origin of the title *Gabinus* is unexplained.
- 15 *ad vocem*] See n. on 37. 5.
- terrorem*] 'threat', a sense which the word more frequently bears in the plural.
- 16 § 3. *omnibus*] = *omnibus rebus*, cf. 41. 1 and see n. on 19. 6.
- eadem*] sc. *via*, as in § 10.
- 17 *sperans esse*] The infinitive present is often found after *spero*, or *spes est*, the verb itself containing the idea of futurity; cf. VII. 5. 4 *spes erat deferre.*
- 18 *ne...quidem*] Although, as usual, *ne quidem* specially emphasizes the words with which it is closely connected, it here negatives both *prohibitus* and *deservisset*.
- 20 *miraculo audaciae*] For the genitive see n. on 39. 1.
- 21 *cuius...neglegens*] The use of participles with genitives (limited

generally to transitive verbs), which was rare in early Latin, first became general in Cicero. Cf. 52. 4 *neglegentiores religionum*; Cic. *Verr.* III. 62. 143 *legum neglegentior*.

gens] Caesar, *B. G.* VI. 16. 1, says of the Gauls, *natio est omnis admodum dedita religionibus*.

22 § 4. *interim*] For the use of *interim* here and in § 1, see n. on 13. 9.

23 *nec...solum*] *Nec* serves to connect this sentence with the preceding one, but its negative force only extends to the abl. abs. = *et non Romanis solum* etc.

24 *palati fuerant*] *Fuerant* is here used in its proper sense (see n. on 13. 10) to describe a state previously existing; they had been for some time wanderers in the land.

25 *ex Latio voluntariis*] The Latins would have been bound to help the Romans in accordance with the terms of the Latin League (see n. on 19. 5); it is probable that the ravages of the Gauls in Latium made them eager for their own sake to make common cause with the Romans.

in parte praedae essent] For the phrase cf. 21. 5 and VI. 15. 6 *ut et ipse in parte praedae sis*. If *praedae* refers to the spoils which were to be won from the Gauls, their hopes seem somewhat premature.

26 § 5. *repeti*] The passive infinitive, as usual, after an impersonal predicate; cf. § 7 *placuit acciri* and see n. on 13. 8.

27 *caput*] The fugitives at Veii had conferred the command on the centurion Caedicius, but he of course was not qualified to undertake any important operations.

29 § 6. *ductu auspicioque*] The same phrase occurs in 49. 6. Before any important military operation it was usual for the commanding officer to take the auspices; hence *auspicio* or *auspiciis* (which occurs in § 11) came to mean "under the leadership of". Under the Empire all officers were supposed to act under the *auspicia* of the Emperor; cf. Tac. *Ann.* II. 41 *recepta signa ductu Germanici, auspiciis Tiberii*.

30 *commissurum cur...*] an involved sentence. Caedicius declared that he would not give cause for either god or man to terminate his tenure of command (i.e. he would not wait for misfortune or a superior authority), but he would rather himself demand the appointment of a general.

cur] or *quare* is frequently found after *committere* in Cicero, Caesar and Livy; cf. XXXII. 21. 32 *committere vos cur pereatis non patiuntur*.

p. 57. 1 § 7. *ab Ardea*] See n. on 16. 1.

2 *discrimina rerum*] 'the proper distinctions of things', i.e. of the dif-

ferent powers in the state. It would not have been likely that in so desperate a case all the forms of the constitution would have been observed. Other authorities do not mention that the senate was consulted, while Diodorus (XIV. 116) tells us that Pontius Cominius entered the Capitol only to encourage the besieged, and that the war was concluded without any intervention on the part of Camillus. See Introduction § 12.

rerum...rebus] used in two different senses.

- 5 § 8. *Pontius Cominius*] Both these are Oscan names, *Pontius* = *Quintius*.

incubans cortici] 'supporting himself on (a float of) cork'.

- 7 § 9. *qua proximum fuit*] 'by the nearest way'; the phrase frequently occurs in Livy; cf. III. 27. 5.

neglectum custodia] This phrase occurs in XXIV. 46. 1; cf. VII. 36. 1 *per intermissa custodiis loca*. *Custodia* in this sense is more often found in the plural.

- 10 § 10. *senatus consulto*] It is implied that Pontius did not wait for the *comitia* to be summoned, but received the assurance of the senate that Camillus should be legally appointed.

comitiis curiatis...iussu populi] from the order of the words should probably both be taken with *revocatus de exsilio*. The account is confused and inaccurate. Either Livy or the authority whom he followed confused the functions of the different *comitia*, for the *comitia curiata* was not competent to recall an exile or to confer citizenship, although it would probably have to be consulted with reference to the readmission of an exile to his *gens*. Camillus as an exile could not regain his civic rights without a special vote of the people. The restoration of his citizenship probably took place in the *comitia centuriata* (not *curiata*; cf. 51. 1); and we may infer from this passage, and from XXII. 14. 11 (*dictator ex auctoritate patrum populiue iussu dictus*) that Camillus was appointed dictator, not in the ordinary way (by nomination of the consular tribune) but by an extraordinary vote of the *comitia*.

- 11 *de exsilio*] Camillus had only been sentenced to a fine (32. 9) and had voluntarily gone into exile. Livy's narrative implies that he had during his absence been condemned to exile. Possibly the *comitia* had passed a vote *id ei iustum exsilium esse* (cf. XXVI. 3. 12); in any case by becoming a citizen of Ardea (43. 6) he had forfeited his citizenship at Rome.

- 12 *militesque...vellent*] This clause gives the effect and not (as the preceding clause) the substance of the *senatus consultum*.

- 14 § 11. *Ardeam*] From this passage and from IX. 4. 6 it appears

that Camillus was summoned from Ardea to Veii and thence to Rome; in XXII. 3. 10 and 14. 11 Livy speaks of him as being recalled from Veii.

seu quod...dictus] Both the sense and the construction of this passage are extremely involved. *Sive* is omitted in the first clause *missi...perduxere*. The alternative theories are (1) that Camillus left Ardea for Veii immediately on hearing of the *senatus consultum*, (2) that he waited at Ardea until he heard that his recall and appointment had been legally passed (cf. Val. Max. IV. 1. 2). The principal statement is contained in the last words of the chapter *lex curiata...dictus*.

- 15 *profectum*] This oblique statement has no governing verb; probably the influence of *credere* extends to this clause, although it is in a parenthesis.
- 17 *mutari finibus*] 'change his place of abode'. *Mutari* in phrases like this refers only to change of place; *finibus* is probably an ablative of manner, or of separation. Cf. Lucr. I. 681 *mutari ordine*; Cic. *pro Balb.* II. 27 *mutari civitate*.
- 18 *lex curiata*] Livy thought that Camillus was recalled by a law passed at the *comitia curiata* (see n. on § 10). *Lex curiata* usually denotes the *lex de imperio* conferring *imperium* on the magistrates.

CHAPTER XLVII.

- 20 § 1. *arx Capitoliumque*] The two summits are here distinguished (see n. on 39. 9), but their close connection is shown by the use of a predicate in the singular.
- 21 § 2. *namque Galli*] There was a tradition, disregarded by Livy, that the Gauls attacked the Capitol by means of a mine. Cicero in two passages alludes to the *Gallorum cuniculus*, through which they entered the Capitol (*pro Cacc.* 30. 88; *Phil.* III. 8. 20).
- 23 *sua sponte*] 'by themselves', i.e. without noticing the footprints of Pontius.
- 24 *ad Carmentis*] sc. *aedem*, which is often omitted in this construction. The temple of *Carmentis* (or *Carmenta*), who was said to have been the mother of Evander and to have given oracles, was on the south-west slope of the Capitol. It gave its name to the *Porta Carmentalis* in the Servian wall.
- ascensu aequo*] 'where the ascent was easy', abl. of quality, descriptive of *saxo*.
- sublustris*] a poetic word found in Hor. (*Od.* III. 27. 31 *nox sublustris*) and Vergil (*Aen.* IX. 373).

- 26 *alterni innixi*] *Alterni* is used predicatively and in the same sense as *in vicem*. They alternately lent each other support or helped to draw each other up.
- 27 *prout postularet*] See n. on *referretur* I. 7.
- 28 § 3. *in summum*] Cf. *in summo* § 4 and see n. on 43. 2. *custodes*] As the attack was by night, *vigiles* (which is used in § 9), would be the correct term, see n. on 15. 4.
- 29 *animal*] The apposition is irregular not only because of the combination of singular and plural (cf. 29. 2) but because *animal*, which is a general term, is in apposition to *canes*, denoting the particular dogs on the Capitol.
- 30 § 4. *sacris Iunonis*] This attribute, which should qualify *anserēs*, is put in the relative sentence: cf. 49. 7 *iocos, quos inconditos iaciunt*. For the gen. with *sacris* cf. XXIV. 3. 4 *sacrum deae pecus*.
- 31 *tamen*] lays stress on *in summa inopia*, 'notwithstanding their desperate need'.
- 32 *M. Manlius*] See n. on 31. 2. It is not worth while to criticise this legend of Rome's salvation, the historical truth of which could scarcely be established. The Romans believed it themselves, and several customs which they observed illustrated their belief. Cicero (*pro Roscio Am.* 20. 56) tells us that dogs and geese were always kept on the Capitol and food was supplied to the geese by the censors at the public expense. Moreover every year there was a procession in Rome, in which a dog fixed to a cross, and a goose, clothed in gold and purple and seated in a litter, were carried through the streets. The legend might have been invented to explain these customs.
- p. 58. 2 *simul*] with the participle *ciens*, see n. on 52. 1. *ceteros...ceteri*] The repetition is emphatic, Manlius did not wait for the rest, and they did not emulate his bravery.
- 4 § 5. *cuius casus prolapsi*] The gen. is subjective, and *prolapsi* explains the manner of his fall; cf. *prolapsus cecidit*, 21. 16.
- 7 *missilibus*] probably qualifies both *telis* and *saxis*.
- 10 § 6. *praeteritum quoque*] 'their peril even (though) past', see n. on 35. 6.
- 11 § 7. *ad concilium...ad tribunos*] 'to an assembly before the tribunes'. Usually the prepositions are varied, but cf. 45. 8; 51. 9.
- 12 *et recte et perperam facto*] The use of participles qualified by adverbs or governing cases (as in § 8 *detractum corpori*) in a substantival sense is noteworthy; participles used as substantives generally lose their verbal character. The construction, which occurs elsewhere in Livy (XXXVIII.

17. 13 *insitum alienae terrae*), is perhaps modelled on the corresponding Greek idiom.

13 *donatus*] 'rewarded', used absolutely.

14 *consensu militari*] The adjective is used in place of a genitive; cf. § 10 *clamore militum*. See n. on 2. 14.

§ 8. *cui*] 'in whose honour'. The relative is used although *eius* follows in the same clause.

15 *quae in arce erant*] See n. on 31. 2.

16 *rem dictu parvam*] in apposition to the sentence, as *rem incredibilem* (IV. 17. 4) or *mirabile dictu* in Vergil.

ceterum] here simply marks a contrast like *sed*.

18 *corpori atque usibus necessariis*] almost form one idea = *usibus corporis*.

20 § 9. *more militari*] See n. on 19. 4.

23 § 10. *culpam...noxae*] used in the same sense. *Noxa* originally meant hurt or harm (XXXVI. 21. 3), from that the meaning of fault, crime, which the word bears here, was derived, and lastly it was extended to mean punishment (VIII. 28. 8 *noxam merere*).

24 *de saxo*] From the Tarpeian rock, which lay on the side of the Capitol towards the river, traitors were hurled.

27 § 11. *ab memoria*] See n. on 5. 3.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

31 § 2. *loco*] The proper order is *castra habentis loco cum iacente...tum...ferente*.

inter tumulos] The low-lying districts between the hills of Rome were for centuries hotbeds of malaria. See n. on 54. 4.

p. 59. 2 § 3. *intolerantissima*] From the participle *tolerans*, the negative adjective *intolerans* is formed, which is frequently found with a genitive in Livy (IX. 18. 1 *quarum nemo intolerantior fuit*). This clause (which is explained by *umorique...adsueta*) forms the transition to Livy's account of the *busta Gallica*.

3 *angore*] 'suffocation', from the ashes and dust.

4 *pigritia sepeliendi*] Cf. I. 31. 5 *pigritia militandi* and see n. on 13. 2.

5 *inde*] 'from that cause', or 'from that time'.

6 *locum*] Cf. XXII. 14. 11 *media in urbe qua nunc busta Gallica sunt*; we have no more definite information.

7 § 4. *conloquia*] apparently only on the part of individuals, the senate did not take action until later (§ 8).

10 *panis*] This legend was adorned by Ovid with many poetical details (*Fast.* VI. 350 ff.). The action was intended to conceal from the enemy the grievousness of the famine. A somewhat similar tale of a pretence of plenty is told by Herodotus (I. 21).

11 § 5. *iam*] as in § 7, 'at last'.

12 *itaque dum...*] The passage from here to the end of § 7 forms one sentence.

dilectum habet] *Habere* with an accusative often denotes the performance of some formal or official act, *senatum* (§ 8), *contionem*, *conloquium* (§ 4), *orationem*.

14 *abducere*] See Critical Appendix.

quibus] the antecedent *eos*, 'those forces', is omitted.

15 § 6. *stationibus, vigiliis*] See n. on 15. 4. Here and in § 7 the words denote the operation of watching by day and night; in § 4 *stationes* is used of the place of watch.

19 § 7. *spe quoque, non solum cibo*] The usual order is reversed.

20 *cum stationes procederent*] may mean 'as sentinel duty was always going on'; *procedere* is then used in a sense somewhat similar to that which it bears in 7. 12 (*aera procedere*). The phrase may however mean 'whenever the sentinels went on duty'; *procederent* is then the subjunctive of repeated action.

21 *dedi vel redimi*] equivalent to middle or reflexive verbs; cf. 21. 14.

22 *iactantibus*] 'hinting'. Livy brings into strong relief everything which could mitigate the disgrace of the surrender of Rome. Food was failing, hope of aid from Camillus was given up, and the defenders were so enfeebled that they could scarcely stand upright on duty, when the Gauls hinted that they would grant easy terms. This last motive, which is expressed by means of an abl. abs., is really the principal idea, and forms the natural transition to the next section.

27 § 8. *mille pondo auri*] *Pondo* (the ablative of a substantive akin to *pondus*=by weight) is properly used with another substantive denoting the weight; cf. III. 29. 3; IV. 20. 4 *coronam auream libram pondo*. More often *libra* is omitted and *pondo* with a numeral denotes the number of pounds, as here *mille* = *mille librarum*.

28 § 9. *per se*] The reflexive in prepositional phrases *per se*, *inter se*, is often found qualifying a word which is not the grammatical subject of the sentence; cf. 49. 8 *inclinata per se plebe*.

31 *vae victis*] Festus (p. 372) tells us that, from this saying of Brennus, *vae victis* passed into a proverb.

CHAPTER XLIX.

32 § 1. *prohibuere*] as in § 8 with inf.; see n. on 26. 5.

redemptos] This secondary predicate contains the principal idea.

p. 60. 1 *forte quadam*] *Forte* (usually an adverb) is found as a substantive also in I. 4. 4; III. 64. 4. Livy's conception of *Fors* or *Fortuna* was that of a power working in conjunction with or even under the direction of the gods. So in this passage *dique et homines* is followed by *forte*; cf. II. 14 *fortunam aut quemquam deorum*; I. 4. 4 *forte quadam divinitus*, and in Greek *θελὶ τύχῃ* (Hdt. I. 126). Man could not comprehend how this power worked, and therefore attributed events, the causes of which he did not understand, to fortune.

merces perficeretur] 'before the ransom was completed'.

3 *dictator intervenit*] It is generally thought that the story of Camillus preventing the ransom and driving out the Gauls was the patriotic invention of some annalist; see Introduction § 12. Livy himself in X. 16. 6; XXII. 59. 7 alludes to the ransom as having really been paid.

7 § 2. *iniussu suo*] As soon as a dictator was appointed his power overrode that of all other magistrates, who could only act under his authority. The action of the consular tribune in making terms with the Gauls was therefore not valid without the consent of Camillus, and the Romans at many different epochs showed how ready they were to repudiate a contract concluded by one of their officers, if it entailed on them a loss which might be avoided.

inferioris iuris] Magistrates were said to possess *maior*, *par* or *minor potestas* in relation to their superiors, their colleagues or their inferiors. A magistrate of *maior potestas* could always prevent or override the action of his inferior.

9 § 3. *ferro, non auro*] This is probably a reminiscence of the line of Ennius, *ferro, non auro vitam cernamus utrique* (quoted by Cic. *de Off.* I. 12. 38).

10 *fana deum*] refers in particular to the national temple on the Capitol, but there were probably others still standing.

12 *ulcisci*] The participle *ultus* occurs more than once in a passive sense (II. 17. 7) and Sallust *Jug.* 31. 8 uses *ulcisci* passively, but it is more likely that Livy is here combining active and passive infinitives, as he frequently does.

14 § 4. *inacquali*] in agreement with *solo*, qualified by *natura*.

15 *secunda*] with a dat., as in II. 38. 1 *secunda irae*.

suis] The reflexive refers to the subject of the principal clause, although the relative clause is direct and not oblique.

§ 5. *nova re*] 'at the change in their fortunes'.

17 *verterat*] See n. on 18. 9.

18 *rem Romanam*] 'the fortunes of Rome'.

19 *momento*] 'effort'. See n. on 52. 1 and cf. XXI. 43. 11 *perlevi momento victi sunt*.

20 § 6. *iustiore altero proelio*] 'in a second and more regular engagement'. *Proelium iustum* is opposed to *pugna tumultuaria* (a disorderly skirmish), a phrase which occurs in XXI. 8. 7.

21 *Gabina via*] also called the *Via Praenestina*. In XXII. 14. 11 Livy says that this engagement took place *citra Gabios*.

22 *omnia obtinuit*] 'was universal'.

23 *ne nuntius quidem*] This is of course an absurd exaggeration, but the phrase was used proverbially of an overwhelming defeat (IV. 10. 5).

25 § 7. *militaris*] = *militum*, the implied subject to *iaciunt*; see n. on 40. 3.

inconditos] 'rough, unpolished'. Cf. IV. 53. 11 *inconditi versus militari licentia iactati*. On the position of *inconditos* in the relative clause, see n. on 47. 4. These *Carmina triumphalia* were ridiculous and obscene verses, sung with a view to avert the evil eye (*fascinium*). The evil eye was most efficacious when human happiness appeared to be greatest, and, as men believed, it could best be averted by obscene symbols and obscene verses. See Munro, *Catullus*, pp. 76 and 78.

27 *haud vanis*] Livy makes considerable use of litotes, and generally with *haud*; cf. § 5 *haud maiore*; § 8 *haud dubie*; 48. 7 *haud magna*.

29 § 8. *cum prohibuit migrari*] 'in preventing a migration'. See n. on 1. 5 *cum...abduxit*.

p. 61. 1 *intentius*] i.e. more keenly than they had advocated the same proposal five years before.

agentibus] See n. on 2. 5.

per se] sc. without the instigation of the tribunes. See n. on 48. 9.

2 § 9. *abdicandae dictaturae*] an unusual construction; see n. on 9. 8.

CHAPTER L.

4 § 1. *omnium primum*] See n. on 19. 6.

5 *religionum*] 'religious duties', as in 51. 4; 52. 2. See n. on 1. 6.

6 *rettulit*] sc. *ad senatum*.

7 § 2. *facit*] 'he got a decree passed', i.e. he proposed a decree which was accepted by the senate; cf. IV. 11. 3 *senatus consultum fecerunt*. The substance of this decree is put in the subjunctive, *ut* being omitted.

quod] = *quoad*, 'in so far as'. This restrictive use of *quod* is familiar in such phrases as *quod possum*, *quod sciam*, *quod attinet*; it seems to be sometimes, however, applied to ordinary expressions, as in 34. 4 *quod continens memoria sit*; Cic. *ad Att.* I. 1. 1 *quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit*. See Critical Appendix.

8 *terminarentur*] It is probable that in some cases the bounds of the sacred enclosures had become obscured and had to be retraced.

9 *expiarentur*] 'cleansed', not as in § 5; cf. 53. 1. The presence of the Gauls had defiled the temples and lustration was necessary.

in libris] sc. *Sibyllinis*. See n. on 13. 5. Although the Sibylline books were chiefly concerned with Greek religion, they were also consulted as to the method of appeasing the national gods.

11 § 3. *hospitium publice fieret*] See n. on 28. 5. In later times these friendly relations between the states were broken off, and the people of Caere became *municipes* or *cives sine suffragio*, i.e. they bore the burdens without enjoying the privileges of citizens. As they were the first people, who were reduced to this position, *cives sine suffragio* were said *referri in tabulas Caeritum*.

13 § 4. *ludi Capitolini*] mentioned in 52. 11, but nothing more is known of them; the college of *Capitolini* certainly existed at a later period; Cic. *ad Q. fr.* II. 5. 2 *M. Furium Flaccum...Capitolini de collegio eiecerunt*.

17 § 5. *expiandae*] here used in the sense of *procurandae*, for which see n. on 15. 1.

20 *Aio Locutio*] The Roman religion tended to deify abstractions, and deities of this nature frequently had a double name, both titles denoting similar ideas; cf. II. 7. 12 *Vica Pota* (Power and Victory); *Fors Fortuna*; *Anna Perenna*.

21 § 6. *Iovis cellam*] The temple on the Capitoline, which was vowed by Tarquinius Priscus and dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno and Minerva, contained three shrines (*cellae*); in the centre one was the statue of Jupiter, richly adorned and with his face painted red. Beneath his throne the gold was deposited.

24 § 7. *iam ante*] See n. on I. 4.

religio] religious feeling in its moral aspect, i.e. conscientiousness.
in publico] 'the public treasury', as in 22. 1.

- 25 *pactae*] like many participles of deponent verbs, is used passively.
 26 *confieret*] for *conficeretur*. The form does not occur elsewhere in Livy, and is probably an archaism, which lingered in the popular speech; *confieri* (in its different tenses) is found in Plautus (*Trin.* 408), frequently in Lucretius, and is used by Balbus in his correspondence with Cicero (*ad Att.* VIII. 15 A. 3; IX. 7 A. 1).

matronis] The honours mentioned here and in 25. 9 were probably granted to all matrons, not merely to those who contributed.

- 28 *laudatio*] (*funebri*s or *sollemnis*) was the funeral oration, which in the case of distinguished persons was delivered in the Forum. These *laudationes* preserved many family traditions, which became incorporated in the history.

- 30 § 8. *quaeque...poterant*] If this refers to the religious observances (which were within the senate's competence) *quaeque* is explicative 'which could therefore'; it may however denote the non-religious business transacted in the senate.

- 31 *tum demum*] after *his peractis* emphasises the fact that he took no action until matters of religion were transacted; 'then and not till then'.

p. 62. 1 *relictis ruinis*] Not only was the city in ruins, but the *ager Romanus* had been ravaged, so that Romans of all classes found their homes destroyed.

- 2 *senatu prosequente*] There had probably been a meeting of the senate in the Curia Hostilia and from there they accompanied Camillus to the Comitium. Cf. 55. 1, and see n. on 7. 9.

CHAPTER LI.

The following speech of Camillus, which forms an appropriate conclusion to the story of Rome's trials and dangers, is intended to glorify Rome and the Roman Empire. Whatever materials Livy may have found in his authorities, we cannot doubt that he was consciously writing from the standpoint of his own day. As an appeal to Roman patriotism, it has the same purpose as the Aeneid, to show the growth of Roman power under the guidance of providence. It is possible also to trace a political purpose in the speech. From Suetonius (*Julius* 79) we learn that Caesar was supposed at one time to have thought of transferring the capital of the Empire to the East, and it has been conjectured that even in the time of Augustus there were rumours of similar proposals, and that Horace is protesting against them in the third Ode of Book III.

If this supposition is well founded, Livy's appeal to the destinies of Rome, to the religious associations and the sacred institutions of the Eternal City, must have been as effective in his own day as it would have been four hundred years before, if it had been delivered by Camillus. The dominant idea is that, if the Romans leave their city, all that they hold holy and in honour—their glorious past and their future greatness—will be abandoned.

The following analysis will show the main divisions of the speech.

I am so averse to political conflict that only my devotion to my fatherland induces me to speak against the proposal to abandon our city at the very time when we have rescued it from the foe (51 §§ 1—3).

Recent events show that the gods reward and punish (§§ 4—5). *The war with Veii was not brought to an end until the advice of the gods had been followed* (§ 6). *Neglect of the heavenly voice, and violation of the ius gentium, brought on us that calamity, which has made us an example to the whole world* (§§ 7—8); *honour and victory have been the reward of our reverence for the gods, who have punished our impious foes* (§§ 9—10). *To leave Rome would be sinful; the city was founded and consecrated with the sanction of the gods, and is full of divine associations* (52. §§ 1—3). *The rites of public religion cannot be neglected; they cannot be performed at Veii, for many, like the Feast of Jove, are restricted to the Capitol, nor can we leave the most sacred objects of worship in a deserted and unconsecrated spot* (§§ 4—7). *Our ancestors left rites in other cities to our care, we cannot transfer our national rites to Veii* (§ 8). *Hitherto we have been scrupulously careful about the due worship of our own gods, we have introduced the worship of foreign gods, and have instituted rites in honour of new deities, shall we now desert our city* (§§ 9—12)? *The priests are attached to Rome as closely as the gods whom they serve* (§§ 13—14), *even our political institutions cannot be divorced from Roman soil* (§§ 15—17).

The argument that it would cost too much trouble to restore Rome is a mere pretence, for the proposal to migrate was made before the destruction of the city (53 §§ 1—2). *But whatever could be urged in favour of the proposal then, to leave Rome now would be disgraceful to us, and would bring glory on the Gauls* (§§ 3—4). *It will be said that the Gauls compelled us to abandon the city, and they perchance, or the Aequi or Volsci will come and settle here; are you prepared for them to become Romans, while you rank as Veientes* (§§ 5—7)? *Are you loth to undertake the labour of rebuilding? It were better to dwell in huts amid our household gods, than to go into exile because we cannot restore the ruins of Rome*

(§§ 7—9). *What if Veii were burnt? Would you seek another home, and is all your affection for bricks and mortar, none for your fatherland or mother earth* (54 §§ 1—2)?

Think of the glorious surroundings of Rome, think of the Tiber, of the hills and plains, as I did in my exile (§ 3). *The healthy site of Rome in the middle of Italy, with a good river and access to the sea, was rightly chosen by providence* (§ 4). *The power of the city is the best proof of this, and you cannot transfer its fortunes. The Capitol is the centre of your empire, blessed by the gods* (§§ 5—7).

5 § 1. *nec*] corresponds to *et* in l. 7; both conjunctions introduce clauses dependent on *ut*.

6 *quoad...vixi*] *Quoad* in a temporal sense (as a substitute for *donec*) is rare in all periods; when it means 'as long as', it usually takes the indicative; in § 2 (*quoad suppetat*) the subjunctive is used because the clause with *quoad* is dependent on an infinitive (*deesse*).

8 *si revocaretis, rediturus fuerim*] This combination of primary and secondary tenses in a conditional sentence, is perfectly regular. The mood and tense of *fuerim*, the verb of the apodosis, are determined by the fact that it is the predicate of a consecutive sentence after *acerbae sunt*. If it were independent, the hypothesis would assume this form:—*si revocaretis, non rediturus fui* (cf. 53. 9 *facturi fuimus, si aedes deflagrassent*); in a consecutive sentence *fui* naturally becomes *fuerim*. Cf. IV. 38. 5 *nec dubium erat quin, si...possent...daturi fuerint*; Cic. *Verr.* I. 42 *quae res tam nefaria est, ut, etiamsi lex non esset magnopere vitanda fuerit*.

senatus...iussu] See n. on 46. 10.

10 § 2. *ut redirem...perpulit*] In consecutive sentences the perfect (whether used as an aorist or as a proper perfect) is regularly followed by the imperfect subjunctive in the dependent clause; cf. 53. 5.

mutatu] The participle should be taken with both substantives, 'it is not the change in *my* inclination, but in *your* fortune that'.

12 *id agebatur*] 'was the question at stake', i.e. when the recall of Camillus was proposed.

utique] See n. on 39. 12.

16 § 3. *recuperatam*] emphatic, 'now that it is recovered'.

17 *victoribus Gallis*] abl. abs., in contrast with *victoribus Romanis*.

18 *dique et homines Romani*] *Romani* qualifies both words. More often the phrase *dique et homines* is used generally of divine and human agency. In the nominative Livy prefers the combination *dique et* (cf. 49. 1), but in the ablative *dis hominibusque* (§ 8; § 9;

43. 7; 52. 17). Notice the prominence given to religious motives throughout this speech; cf. especially 52. 1, and see n. on 30. 5.

- 22 § 4. *equidem*] usually emphasises the action or the opinion of a particular individual; here grammatically it introduces the principal sentence (*adfuit*), but logically it should go with *putem*.

traditae per manus] The phrase is used in a metaphorical sense, as *religiones* denotes 'religious institutions' (see n. on 1. 6); cf. 1. 3. 9 *regnum per manus tradidit*. *In manus tradere* (27. 3) is used in a different sense.

- 23 *numen*] is the power that works in and through the gods; the word often corresponds in sense to Livy's use of *fatum* or *fortuna*. 'Providence' is the nearest equivalent in English.

- 24 *hac tempestate*] See n. on 37. 1.

- 26 § 5. *horum deinceps annorum*] 'the last few years in succession'. For the use of a temporal adverb as an attribute see n. on 16. 2; examples of *deinceps* are found in III. 39. 4 *Romulus deincepsque reges*; XXII. 7. 11.

- 27 *invenietis*] Where a future is used to give the consequences of the action denoted by a preceding imperative, the connecting particle is usually omitted.

prospera] used in an adverbial sense. See Critical Appendix.

- 28 § 6. *iam omnium primum*] *Iam* serves as a particle of transition, as Livy passes from his general statement (*omnia evenisse*) to particular instances; this phrase is similarly used in 1. 1. 1.

- 29 *quot...quanto*] See n. on 5. 11.

- 30 *emissa*] See n. on 15. 4.

- p. 63. 1 § 7. *spretā*] The auxiliary *est* is rarely omitted in dependent clauses.

caelo emissa] With *emittere* and *demittere* Livy uses the ablative both with and without prepositions; cf. § 6 *ex lacu emissa*; 54. 7 *caelo demissa*. In earlier prose the preposition was generally used.

emissa] *Mittere vocem* is the phrase more frequently used, as in 55. 1.

- 4 § 8. *igitur*] See n. on *itaque*, 1. 6.

redempti] See n. on 49. 1.

- 7 § 9. *confugimus...deos*] The most important temples were on the Capitol (see n. on 50. 6), but it is a rhetorical exaggeration to represent religious motives as determining the Romans to seek refuge there.

- 9 *terra*] See Critical Appendix. The ablative of place denotes also the means by which the concealment was effected. Verbs of concealing

or shutting in, which in Cicero are usually constructed with prepositions (cf. 40. 6), are found in the poets and Livy with the simple ablative; cf. XXVIII. 8. 5 *ceteri silva sese occuluerunt*.

avecta] describes an event simultaneous with that denoted by *amovimus*; see n. on II. 2.

- 11 § 10. *reddidere*] The order in this passage is extremely artificial. In the preceding passage the objects *sacra* and *cultum* are thrown forward for emphasis, while *reddidere* is put first to introduce the conclusion of the narrative.

- 13 *foedus ac fidem*] 'treaty and troth'. Notice the alliteration.

CHAPTER LII.

- 15 § 1. *momenta*] 'momentous consequences'. This sense is derived from the original meaning of *momentum* (= *movimentum*), 'the impulse which turns the scale'; cf. XXII. 12. 10 *parva momenta levium certaminum*; Cic. *Phil.* v. 10. 26 *minimis momentis maximae inclinationes temporum fiunt*.

- 17 *vixdum...emergentes*] Livy used many temporal and modal adverbs in conjunction with participles; cf. 2. 2; 14. 1; 47. 4; XXXII. 28. 4 *vixdum inchoatis rebus*.

naufraġiis] This plural is often used of a single event; cf. Cic. *ad Att.* II. 7. 4 *naufraġia alicuius ex terra intueri*. The metaphor of shipwreck is frequently employed both in Latin and Greek. Cf. Plut. *Cam.* 31 ὥσπερ ἐκ ναυαῶλου γυμνὸς καὶ ἀπόρους.

- 18 § 2. *auspicato inauguratoque*] For the ablatives see n. on II. 7. The phrase refers to the means by which the site of Rome was chosen and the city founded. Cf. 1. 6. 4 *ut di auguriis legerent*; 1. 18. 6 *Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est*. *Inaugurato* is often used in the sense of *augurato* (cf. 1. 36. 3); the word may possibly here have the sense of *consecrating by means of auguries*.

- 21 *statim*] See n. on 46. 2.

- 22 § 3. *deos publicos privatosque*] i.e. the gods of the state as well as the Lares and Penates of the family. See n. on 30. 1.

- 23 *quam par*] ironical.

- 24 *in adolescente*] See n. on II. 16.

- 25 *cum obiit*] See n. on 1. 5 *cum...abduxit*.

- 26 *sollemne*] used as a substantive as in 1. 4.

- 27 § 4. *an*] On the *reductio ad absurdum* as a rhetorical device see n. on 4. 11, and cf. § 8.

30 *quam fuerit*] In sentences introduced by *quam* after a comparative the verb is generally in the subjunctive.

p. 64. 1 § 5. *salvis caerimoniis*] 'without impairing the force of the rites'.

2 § 6. *et*] is epexegetic and introduces a particular example. *generatim*] = *per singula genera*.

3 *Iovis epulo*] This ceremony, which took place during the *ludi plebei* (XXVII. 36. 9 *Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa*), differed from the *lectisternium* (see n. on 13. 6) in being part of the *Romanus ritus*. The senate had a feast on the Capitol, at which the statues of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva were brought out.

4 *pulvinar suscipi*] '(the arrangement of) the couch be undertaken'. *Pulvinar* denotes a couch made of cushions and richly covered, which was intended for the gods. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 1. 37. 3 *ornare pulvinar decorum tempus erat dapibus*.

§ 7. *aeternis Vestae ignibus*] Vesta was worshipped in every family as the guardian of the domestic hearth, while in the circular temple dedicated to her, her altar was regarded as the public hearth of the Roman people, and the fire was kept always burning there by the Vestal Virgins. Cf. Cic. *de Leg.* II. 8. 20 *in urbe custodiunt ignem foci publici sempiternum*.

5 *signo*] Within the temple of Vesta the Palladium (an archaic wooden image of Pallas) was said to be preserved. This, according to the legend, fell from heaven when Ilus was founding Ilium and was brought by Aeneas to Italy. The worship of Pallas, as well as the word Palladium, is essentially Greek, and could not therefore have been introduced until long after the foundation of Rome. The safety of the city was supposed to be bound up with the Palladium and certain other *sacra*. Cicero (*pro Scauro* § 48) like Livy calls it *pignus nostrae salutis atque inperi*; cf. XXVI. 27. 14 *conditum in penetrati fatale pignus inperi Romani*.

6 *ancilibus*] A small oval shield (*ancile*) was said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa, and on this as well as on the Palladium depended the safety of the city. Numa had eleven others made like it, to lessen the chance of the proper shield being stolen. Cf. 1. 20. 4 *caelestia arma, quae ancilia appellantur*. The shields were kept by *Salii*; Numa appointed twelve as priests of *Mars Gradivus* and Tullus Hostilius appointed twelve more as priests of *Quirinus*.

Gradive] *Gradivus*, as a title of Mars, is supposed to denote the god who strides with warlike step to the battle field. We are reminded

of the description of Ares in Aristophanes (*Pax* 241) as ὁ κατὰ τοῦ σκελοῦν.

7 *in profano*] 'on profane soil'. The city of Rome in virtue of the ceremonies of its foundation (cf. § 2) was a *templum*; it had been desecrated by the Gauls (50. 2) and, if it had been abandoned, the ceremony of *exauguratio* would have been performed; cf. 1. 55. 2 *exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit*.

8 *aequalia*] 'coeval'. Cf. Cic. *pro Mil.* 31. 85 *vosque Albanorum arae, sacrorum populi Romani sociae et aequales*.

vetustiora] Many institutions of Roman religion were supposed to be derived from Alba Longa or Lavinium. In particular the worship of Vesta was said to have been brought from Alba Longa (1. 20. 3). This legend points to the custom of colonies bringing the ever burning fire from their mother town.

9 § 8. *in monte Albano*] On the summit of the Alban Mount stood the temple of *Juppiter Latiaris*, the sanctuary of the Latin league, and here were celebrated the *feriae Latinae* (see n. on 17. 2).

10 *Lavinii*] a small town about 16 miles to the south of Rome. Legend said that it was founded by Aeneas and was the first place in Latium to receive the Trojans. It was regarded as the metropolis of the Latin race, and formed the religious centre of the league, where the Lares and Penates of the Latins were kept. The higher magistrates sacrificed at Lavinium on entering or laying down office.

11 *religiosum fuit*] See n. on 13. 8.

13 § 9. *instaurentur*] See n. on 19. 1.

14 *ex patrio ritu*] *Ex* may mean 'in accordance with'; more probably it is partitive, *aliquid ex*=some part of.

16 *auspiciorum renovatio*] See n. on 17. 3.

19 § 10. *instituimus novos*] 'have established new gods'. This refers to the temple of Aius Locutius; as the Romans consciously deified abstractions, it was always easy for them to increase the number of their gods.

21 *dedicata est*] The Latins talked of dedicating a god (or his statue) as well as a temple; cf. Hor. *Od.* 1. 31. 1 *dedicatus Apollo*.

22 § 11. *exauditam*] 'heard clearly'; see n. on 21. 8.

24 § 12. *opus fuit*] The hypothesis is put vividly in the indicative.

28 § 13. *loquimur*] On this and other forms of transition see n. on 5. 6.

quid tandem] sc. *dicam*.

29 *piaculi*] *Piaculum*, which properly denotes a sin offering, in early

and late Latin was used for the sin, which required expiation. It is so used here and in §§ 8, 14 (in a different sense in 53. 1). Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 30 *solutus piaculo*.

30 *sedes*] The Vestals lived in the *Atrium Vestae*, a building in the Forum close to the circular *Aedes Vestae* and the *Regia* (the residence of the Pontifex Maximus). The home of the Vestals was burnt down several times; excavation during recent years has revealed extensive remains of the *Atrium Vestae* as it was rebuilt in the time of Hadrian.

31 *urbs capta movit*] See n. on 29. 4 *oppidum captum*.

flamini Diali] The flamen of Jupiter enjoyed numerous privileges and honours, but he was subject to many restrictions. He might not quit the city for a single night, and this restriction was kept up until the reign of Augustus (Tac. *Ann.* III. 71).

p. 65. 3 § 14. *in singulas noctis*] 'night after night'. As the flamen was bound always to sleep in Rome, fresh sin would be contracted every night he was away, and as he was the representative of the state, the whole people would incur responsibility.

4 § 15. *alia*] = *cetera*.

5 *intra pomerium*] The *pomerium* was the space kept clear of buildings and cultivation on both sides of the wall of a town. Both the custom of marking the *pomerium* and the ceremony of consecration were derived from Etruria (I. 44. 4). The term *pomerium* was often applied, as it is in this passage, to denote the outer boundary, which defined the limit within which the *urbana auspicia* could be taken. Almost all acts, which were performed *auspicato*, took place within the *pomerium*, except meetings of the *Comitia Centuriata*; cf. Aul. Gell. xv. 27. 4 *centuriata comitia intra pomerium fieri nefas esse*.

aut] The two words are not mutually exclusive; we should say 'and'.

6 § 16. *comitia curiata*] This assembly in the republic was superseded for the most part by the *Comitia Centuriata*. It still retained, however, certain formal functions, and in particular conferred the *imperium* on the higher magistrates by the *lex curiata de imperio* (see n. on 46. 11); in virtue of this function Livy describes it as *comitia quae rem militarem continent*.

10 § 17. *tanto incommodo*] the abl. of attendant circumstances; cf. II. 1. 3 *pessimo publico*.

CHAPTER LIII.

12 § 1. *At enim*] is employed, as often, to anticipate the objection of the other side. See Critical Appendix.

pollui omnia] by the presence of the Gauls; purification (*piacula*) was therefore necessary; cf. 50. 2.

13 *vastam*] 'wasted, devastated'. *Vastus* is used like a participle with the ablative; cf. Att. ap. Fest. p. 372 *iam hanc urbem ferro vastam faciet Peleus*; Sall. Hist. I. 41. 17 *vastam urbem fuga et caedibus*.

16 § 2. *hanc iactari*] 'that this is a trumped up excuse and not a real reason'.

17 *ut ego non dicam*] *Ut* with the subjunctive is frequently used in concessive clauses, especially if they are negative (= even if, although).

18 *qui meministis*] The relative clause is attributive; we should expect it to be causal and to take the subjunctive.

20 *hanc rem*] explained by *ut transmigraremus*; cf. *hoc* in § 7. *actam*] 'mooted'. See n. on 2. 5.

21 § 3. *et videte*] as in 52. 8; 'and mark you'.

22 *faciendum fuerit*] The subjunctive mood is due to the clause being oblique, in direct narration it would be *faciendum fuit* (see n. on § 9); *migrandum fuisset* on the other hand is used to express an unfulfilled condition in past time.

nunc utique] 'now at any rate'. See n. on 39. 12.

23 *nec*] = *et ne*.

28 § 4. *gloriosa est*] By a Latin idiom what we should state conditionally is expressed absolutely. Thus *longum est* and similar expressions are often used of hypotheses. Here however the language is purposely vivid; Camillus wishes his hearers to realize clearly the consequences of leaving Rome. Cf. *videbimur*, *potuerunt* in the next section.

30 § 5. *hoc*] repeated; see n. on 6. 4.

31 *necessitatis*] separated from *hoc* as in 2. 8.

inposuisse] *Videbitur* must be supplied from *videbimur*.

p. 66. 1 *exsilium ac fugam*] pleonastic, as *fuga* is used in the same sense as the Greek *φυγή*. Cf. Cic. de Or. III. 6 *cum exsilium et fugam deprecarentur*.

3 *Romani*] See Critical Appendix.

4 § 6. *si iam*] 'if again'.

novis copiis] See n. on 34. 5.

7 § 7. *hoc...ut commigrent*] See n. on 2. 8.

- 9 *solitudinem vestram*] 'a desert of your own'.
- 11 *quid magis nefas*] *Quid* does not refer to the two alternatives in the line above (*utrum* would be required); it implies that no other course could be worse.
nefas] is qualified by the adverb *magis* as if it were an adjective.
- 12 *pati*] used in a different sense with the two substantives, = you are prepared to allow this crime, to suffer this disgrace.
- § 3. *tota urbe*] See n. on 13. 7.
- 13 *casa illa*] On the western slope of the Palatine (the hill to which *Roma Quadrata*, the primitive city, was limited) there were several objects connected with the earliest traditions of Rome. There stood the *Lupercal*, the *Ficus Ruminalis* and the *Casa Romuli*. A hut of primitive style, probably round in shape, built of wood and thatched, which was identified with the dwelling of Romulus, existed even down to the time of Augustus.
- 16 § 9. *convenae pastoresque*] So in II. 1. 4 Livy describes the plebeians in the time of the kings as *illa pastorum convenarumque plebs*. He is here thinking of the legend that Rome was an asylum for the wanderers of Latium.
- 17 *nihil praeter silvas*] In I. 4. 6 Livy describes the site of Rome, *vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant*.
- 18 *tam brevi*] Cf. I. 9. 9 (*Sabini*) *mirantur tam brevi rem Romanam crevisse*.
- 19 *stantibus*] 'still standing'; see n. on II. 11 and cf. § 2 *stante incolumi urbe*.
- 20 *singuli...universi*] 'as individuals...as a body'.
facturi fuimus, si...deflagrassent] The future participle with *eram* or *fui* is frequently found in the apodosis of a condition contrary to the fact. In such cases the protasis qualifies the participle (which expresses likelihood) and not the auxiliary verb, (cf. 26. 10). It is similar to the use of *possum*, *licet*, *oportet* in unfulfilled conditions (see n. on 3. 9). Cf. § 3; 26. 10; II. 1. 4 *quid enim futurum fuit, si...coepta esset*.

CHAPTER LIV.

- 21 § 1. *quid tandem*] See n. on 5. 6.
- 22 *fraude...casu*] 'by chance or design'. For this use of the ablative see n. on 6. 8.
- 24 *Fidenas aut Gabios*] Fidenae had been finally conquered and depopulated in 426 (IV. 34). Gabii, which in the time of the kings was

a state of considerable power, had by this time lost its importance, although it was still a member of the Latin league. In Livy's time the two places were proverbially quoted as desolate. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. 11. 7 *Gabiis desertior atque Fidenis vicus*; Iuv. VI. 56 *vivat Gabiis, ut vixit in agro, vivat Fidenis*.

25 *aliamve quam*] Notice *aut...ve*; 'G. or F. or any other place you like'. On the use of *quam* see n. on I. 7.

26 § 2. *adeo nihil tenet*] 'has your native soil so slight a hold on you?' See n. on 45. 4. *Adeo nihil* is usually followed by a consecutive clause with *ut*; here the inference is introduced by *sed*.

27 *superficie tignisque*] *Superficies* denotes the buildings above the ground (superstructure), and is properly contrasted with *solum* or *area*. Cf. Dig. XLI. 3. 23 *cum aedes ex duabus rebus constant, ex solo et superficie*; Cic. *ad Att.* IV. 1. 7 *aream praeclaram habebimus, superficiem consules aestimabunt*. The word therefore includes *tignis*, which is pleonastic.

29 § 3. *etsi...iuvat*] 'although I have little pleasure in calling to mind the wrong you did me or my own misfortune'. See Critical Appendix.

31 *veniret*] subjunctive of repeated action; see n. on I. 7.

p. 67. I *adsueta*] 'familiar to'; in a different sense in 48. 3.

2 *essem*] subjunctive because the clause is dependent on *in mentem veniret*.

5 § 4. *urbi condendae locum*] See n. on 38. 1 and cf. I. 1. 8 *condendae urbi locum quaerere*.

saluberrimos collis] Cicero (*de Rep.* II. 11) has a somewhat similar description of Rome, *locum delegit (Romulus) in regione pestilenti salubrem*. These accounts are probably coloured by patriotic exaggeration. The hills were surrounded by poisonous swamps, and the unhealthiness of Rome is established by a number of passages from Roman writers. An additional proof is afforded by the altars and shrines dedicated to the goddess of Fever, and other kindred deities (*Mephitis, Verminus, Cloacina*).

6 *quo*] 'by means of which'. See n. on 40. 8.

8 *vicinum ad commoditates*] 'near enough for all useful purposes'. *Ad* is used in a final sense, as in *ad incrementum natum*.

nec] 'but not'.

expositum ad pericula] Cf. XLII. 23. 9 *libertatem expositam ad iniurias Masinissae*.

9 *regionem*] See Critical Appendix.

ad incrementum natum] See n. on 37. 8.

- 10 *locum*] kept till the end of the sentence for emphasis.
- 12 § 5. *annus*] Livy probably followed the annalists in his scheme of chronology. See Introduction, p. xxii, n. 2.
- 13 *tam diu*] with a present in the same sense as *iam diu*. *Tam diu* seems more frequently to be used with a perfect, but cf. Tac. *Germ.* 37 *tamdiu Germania vincitur*.
cum interea] 'all the while that'.
- 16 *inter duo maria*] Cf. 33. 9.
- 17 § 6. *malum*] perhaps for *malum sit* ('plague on you'), or a mere exclamation of indignation. Cicero often combines it with an indignant question; cf. *de Off.* II. 15. 53 *quae te, malum, ratio in istam spem induxit?*
- 18 *ista expertis*] See Critical Appendix.
iam ut] 'granting for the sake of argument'. *Si iam, ut iam* (or, as here, with the order reversed *iam ut*) are often used to imply that, even supposing one plea fails, what is maintained is still right on other grounds. Cf. XXI. 47. 5; Cic. *de Fin.* IV. 24. 66 *ut iam omnes insipientes sunt miseri*; Caes. *B. G.* III. 9. 6 *iam ut omnia contra opinionem acciderent*.
- 20 § 7. *ubi*] must be taken with the abl. abs.
- 21 *responsum est*] The seers so interpreted the omen; cf. I. 55. 5 *arcem eam inperi caputque rerum fore...cecinere vates*. The legend of the human head being found is related in that passage.
- 22 *augurato liberaretur*] 'being cleared in accordance with the augural rites'. Livy (I. 55. 3—4) relates that, when the great temple of Jupiter was going to be built, they began to clear the Capitol by *exauguratio* (see n. on 52. 7) and *deorum evocatio* (see n. on 21. 3), but the auguries did not allow the temple of *Terminus* to be moved. This was taken as an omen of the permanence of Roman power.
- 23 *Iuventas*] not mentioned in I. 55. 4, but afterwards combined with *Terminus*.
- 24 *hic Vestae ignes*] Camillus at the end of his speech returns to and sums up the religious motives.
caelo demissa] See n. on 51. 7.

CHAPTER LV.

- 26 § 1. *Movisse*] 'to have made an impression'. See Critical Appendix.
cum alia...tum ea] *Alia*=*reliqua*, and *ea* is used in an analogous way for *ea parte orationis*. *Cum alia tum*=*especially*; ἄλλος τε καὶ is similarly used in Greek in combination with a substantive.

- 28 *missa*] See Critical Appendix and n. on 51. 7.
- 29 *post paulo*] See n. on *plus aliquanto*, 22. 8.
in curia Hostilia] See n. on 7. 9. This building may have escaped destruction, or the meeting may have been held in the ruins.
- 31 *in comitio*] See nn. on 7. 9; 50. 8.
- p. 68. 3 § 2. *antiquata lege*] *Lex* is used in the sense of *rogatio*, as in 25. 13; for *antiquare*, see n. on 30. 7.
- 4 § 3. *tegula saxi materiae*] are all concrete nouns used in a collective sense. *Materia* denotes timber used for building.
- 6 *praedibus acceptis*] *Praedes* usually denotes persons giving security to the state. For the acc. and inf. dependent on *praedibus acceptis* see n. on 28. 13, and cf. Curt. v. 4. 13 *praedem me accipe neminem recusaturum ire*.
- 7 § 4. *vicos derigendi*] 'of keeping the streets straight'.
- 8 *sui alienique*] See n. on 3. 9.
 § 5. *causa, ut*] for the more usual *causa cur*; cf. Cic. *de Rep.* 11. 59 *causa nata est...ut potentia senatus minueretur*.
- 9 *veteres cloacae*] i.e. the sewers built in the time of the kings, in contrast to those built later, which would follow the line of the streets.
- 10 *occupatae...divisae*] 'hastily occupied (by individuals) rather than portioned out (by the state)'. *Occupare* is the word used of individuals occupying public land etc., *dividere* refers to the custom of marking out a town with augural rites.

CRITICAL APPENDIX.

The most important manuscripts for the Fifth Book of Livy are the Medicean, written in the eleventh century, and the Paris manuscript written in the tenth. Both of these are founded on a recension of the text carried out towards the end of the fourth century by Nicomachus Flavianus and Nicomachus Dexter.

With one exception all the other manuscripts which we know are also derived from this recension. This exception is the *Codex Veronensis*, a manuscript of the fourth century, which contains a considerable part of books II—VI. Professor Mommsen has published a transcript of this manuscript¹. He comes to the conclusion that it was originally derived from the same archetype as the other manuscripts, since it has many mistakes in common with them; he thinks that it is inferior to the best manuscripts of the other class, but it has preserved the true reading in many cases, where the others are corrupt, and confirmed many conjectures of the early editors.

MANUSCRIPTS.

M=Codex Mediceus.

P=Codex Parisinus.

V=Codex Veronensis.

MSS.=The manuscripts in general (or, where there is a difference of reading, the majority of the manuscripts).

EDITORS.

Mvg.=Madvig (Emendationes Livianae, ed. II., 1877).

Wssb.=W. Weissenborn (in the critical appendix to his edition of Livy, Fünfte Auflage, 1882).

H. J. M.=H. J. Müller (editor of Weissenborn's Livy).

Ltb.=F. Luterbacher (in the critical appendix to his edition of Book V., 1887).

¹ *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1868, pp. 109 ff.

2. § 1. *parta*] This reading which is found in two inferior MSS. is preferable to *parata*, the reading of most MSS. *Pacem parere* occurs in III. 19. 1; X. 37. 4; XXX. 30. 30. There is the same variety of reading in 6. 1.

3. § 4. *vestris*] MSS. Mvg. proposes *nostris*, as he says that Appius Claudius could not doubt that the plebeians had suffered *iniuriæ*, but he did dispute that they were due to the patricians. The emendation is not necessary, as *si quæ...fuerunt* minimizes but does not deny the existence of *iniuriæ* in the past.

§ 8. *cum servis...alienis*] *cum servis...cum alienis* MSS. One of the prepositions must be omitted, and the meaning intended is obviously that strangers are to be refused access to slaves and not *vice versa*.

§ 9. *quicquam...civilis sed humani*] Most editors insert *animi* after *humani*, but see explanatory note.

4. § 1. *quod*] V; *quo* MSS.

5. § 4. *olim*] The MSS. (except V, which has nothing between *plebis* and *stipendium*) read *cum* (or *eum*). Some temporal adverb is wanted as a contrast to *nunc*. Mvg. *tum*, but this is too definite. *Olim* was suggested by Heidenheim.

§ 7. *uno tenore*] V; *uno tempore* MSS.

6. § 1. *parta*] V; *parata* MSS. See on I. 1. Here *parta victoria*, denoting 'victory won', is more appropriate than *parata victoria*. *Victoriam parere* occurs with the greatest frequency in Livy.

§ 2. *recessus*] V; *recessum* MSS.

§ 15. *aequi*] Rhenanus for *qui* of MSS. A word qualifying *audire* in an adverbial sense seems wanted; other emendations have been suggested, *quieti*, *Quirites* (as a voc.).

7. § 7. *pedestris ordinis aiunt nunc esse operam*] The MSS. all read *pedestris ordinis se aiunt nunc esse, operamque*. From the first clause it is not possible to extract any satisfactory sense, and the omission of *se* and *que* was suggested by Cuper. The passage seems corrupt in other ways; *extra ordinem* in the next line after *pedestris ordinis* is clumsy.

§ 11. *deinde*] V; *donec* MSS.

8. § 13. *occupaverat*] The MSS. and editors read *occupaverant*. The plural after two substantives in the singular separated by *aut* is irregular; *n* was probably inserted in error by the copyist.

9. § 4. *in concordia hominum*] It is probable that Livy wrote *in concordia ordinum*. The tribunes are constantly accused of wishing to

disturb the good feeling between *patres* and *plebs* (cf. 3. 5); we are specially told in 7. 1 that the *concordia ordinum* had been established by the disaster at Veii, and it was this state of things which Livy represents the tribunes as wishing to upset. For the phrase *concordia ordinum*, cf. 12. 12; VI. 42. 11. *Hominum* is tame, and the corruption probably arose from the erasure of the first three letters of the word in the MSS.

10. § 5. *conficiebatur*] Mvg. for *conferebatur* of MSS. Apart from the awkward repetition (*conferebatur, conferentibus*) the phrase *ea (pecunia) tributo conferebatur* is doubtful in point of construction. Mvg. points out that in II. 65. 5 the MSS. read *ferebant* where *reficiebant* is required.

§ 11. *legis Treboniae*] Most editors have accepted this emendation of the MSS. *legis tribuniciae*. *Lex tribunicia* denotes a law passed on the proposal of a tribune (cf. III. 56. 12 and the similar phrase *lex consularis*); it could not denote a law concerning the tribunate. The *Lex Trebonia* is of course referred to here (cf. II. 1) and *legis* by itself (which Mvg. and H. J. M. read) is too vague.

11. § 1. *cui*] The MSS. read *qui*. The explanations of the editors fail to give a satisfactory sense to *qui videretur*. I have therefore ventured to read *cui*. *Cui videretur*=‘a man who thought it his duty etc.’

§ 2. *quod petissent patres quondam, primo incepto repulsi, tandem tribunos militum expugnasse*] The MSS. read *quidam, tamen* for *quondam, tandem, and expugnassent*. The passage is evidently corrupt; *quidam* is inappropriate, as obviously the patricians as a class were concerned. Wssb., in his third edition, proposed *nequiquam primo incepto repulsi*; Mvg. *quia in primo incepto repulsi sint, tandem* etc. But what is the force of *quia*?

§ 6. *accusatores*] is a necessary change for *accusatorem* of MSS. From § 4 we learn that there were three prosecutors.

§ 14. *ac pavoris*] Wssb. for *ac pavore* of MSS. Mvg. *cum pavore*.

12. § 5. *a Cn. Cornelio*] *a*, which is not found in the MSS., is obviously required.

nec oppugnata] *nec* is not in the MSS. The general sense of the passage requires its insertion; similar operations are described in 24. 2 in the same district.

13. § 12. *nec ita multo post iam palatis velut tuti forent oblati populatores Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere*] This is Madvig’s reconstruction. The MSS. read *palantes* and *veluti forie*, for

which Mvg. suggests *palatis* and *velut tuti forent*. *Palantes* would have to be taken in agreement with *populatores*, but, as Mvg. points out, *palari* should refer to people who are attacked when in disorder, not to the attackers; the qualification of *forte* by *veluti* is meaningless. A similar confusion of present and perfect participles (*palantes*, *palatis*) is frequent in MSS.; for the tense of *palati* see explanatory note.

14. § 2. *exciebant*] Drakenborch for *excipiebant* of MSS.

15. § 11. *si quando*] Ltb. for *ut quando* of MSS. Most editors omit *ut*.

17. § 8. *maxima in parte*] Ltb. for *maxime in ea parte* of MSS. This is nearer the MSS. than H. J. M.'s *proxime eam partem*, and the demonstrative *eam* has no antecedent.

§ 10. *coeperē*] Wssb. for *coeptae* of MSS. The emendation is in accordance with the usual rule for the employment of *coepti* and *coeptus sum*; see explanatory note on 3. 2.

18. § 1. *praerogativae creant*] The MSS. read *praerogativa creant*; either the substantive or the verb must be emended. It is possible that Livy is confusing the *Comitia Centuriata* and the *Comitia Tributa* (see explan. note on § 2) and is thinking of the *tribus praerogativa* of later days, but it is safest to give him the benefit of the doubt and read *praerogativae*.

§ 2. *Q. Manlium*] inserted from 12. 10 and *Fasti Cap.* to complete the number of the tribunes. There are only five names in the MSS.

§ 7. *praecipitavere*] is only found in some inferior MSS. Most MSS. *praecipitavere se*. Livy in his first ten books uses the active of an unintentional fall, the reflexive of a deliberate action.

21. § 9. *similia veris*] only in three inferior MSS. The rest *similia veri*. Livy, however, though he uses the genitive with the singular of *similis*, seems to prefer *veris* with the plural; cf. X. 20. 5; XXXIX. 20. 1.

24. § 7. *utique*] Dr Reid thinks that *utique* is corrupt. It would imply that Livy doubted the truth of the tradition that the proposal was mooted at this time. The *uti* may be a corruption or some participle parallel to *captam*, perhaps *dirutam*.

§ 8. *partem plebis, partem senatus destinabant ad habitandos*] Wssb. for *partem plebi partem senatus destinabant habitandos* of MSS. The emendation is slight and gives a better sense than *partim plebi partim senatui destinabant habitandos*, which Rhenanus suggested. V has *partim plebs partim senatus habitando destinabant*.

25. § 3. *tum*] The reading of the MSS. *dum* is unsatisfactory.

I have written *tum*, which forms a good antithesis to *ad reliquos conatus*.

§ 8. *pollicitae...aurum omnia ornamenta detulerunt*] The MSS. read *aurum et omnia ornamenta*. Mvg. proposes to omit *et*, as he says *aurum* is not appropriate to *detulerunt*, nor *ornamenta* to *pollicitae*. The omission of *et* improves the sense, the matrons undertook to find the gold, and *therefore* brought their *ornamenta* to the treasury. If *et* is retained we must take *pollicitae*=*pollicitae sunt*.

26. § 3. *metuerant*] MSS. Most editors change needlessly to *metuebant*.

§ 6. *indidem*] an ingenious emendation of Kern's for *indicem* of MSS.

§ 7. *triarii*] Heusinger; *trifariam* MSS., see explanatory note.

28. § 1. *taciti*] V; *tacite* MSS.

29. § 5. *vicit*] most MSS.; M has *vincit*. If we read *vicit*, the emendation of *rediit* for *redit* of MSS. is necessary.

31. § 4. *perseverantior caedendi*] Mvg. for *perseverantior caedendis*; Wssb. *perseverantior iis caedendis*, but the omission of the preposition is harsh.

§ 5. *Sappinatibus*] Both here and in 32. 2 the MSS. vary, and as the place is otherwise unknown we can come to no certain conclusion on the name. V has *Sapienatibus* from which Mommsen conjectures *Sappinatibus*.

superbia inflati] V; the other MSS. *superbia* (or *superbiam*) *elati*; there is the same variety of reading in IV. 13. 3.

32. § 3. *primo concursu*] V; the other MSS. *concurso primo*; but the words are almost invariably found in the former order.

in fugam versa] V; the other MSS. *in fugam*. Mvg. puts a semicolon after *acies* and then reads *in fuga milia* etc.

34. § 5. *quod regis ex populis*] Zingerli suggests *regis* for *eius* of the MSS. *Eius* could only refer to Bellovesus, to whom it is inappropriate. Mvg. reads *e sex populis*, and omits *Senones* in the next line, as in 35. 3 they are described as *recentissimi advenarum*. *Eis* is nearer the MSS., but there is no definite antecedent to which it could refer.

§ 6. *quod*] MSS. Some editors emend to *quoad*, see critical note on 50. 2.

§ 7. *Salyum*] The MSS. have *Saluum* or *Salyum*. The editors (except Mvg.) emend to *Salluvium* (the name usually given to the people by Livy; cf. 35. 2). Pliny uses the form *Salvi* in describing them, and

in § 8 *Salyis* is much nearer the MSS. *silvis* than *Salluviis*, which most editors insert.

§ 8. *patientibus Salyis*] the emendation of Valesius for the senseless *patientibus silvis* of the MSS.

per Taurinos saltus vallemque Duriae Alpīs] The MSS. have *saltusque Iuliae* or *Iuriae*. Mvg. inserts *vallem* and emends *Duriae*. He says that *Alpīs* must be taken as an accusative plural, so that *Iuliae* lacks a substantive; moreover the Julian Alps are far distant from the route Livy describes.

§ 9. *cognominem*] emendation of Gronovius; MSS. *cognomine*.

35. § 1. *Cenomanorum*] Glareanus; MSS. *Germanorum*.

36. § 10. *si forte*] Mvg. for *forte* of MSS. See explanatory note.

39. § 4. *crederet*] a necessary emendation for *crederent* of MSS., if the ordinary reading is kept. The passage seems hopelessly corrupt, as apart from the anacoluthon the clause *cum...Romam* should be subordinate to *nemo...crederet*. It is possible that *crederent* should be retained and that *nemo* should be emended to *neminem*. Omitting *quemquam* and inserting *quoniam* above we should get:—*Romani cum, quoniam pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, neminem superesse praeter eos, qui Romam refugerant, crederent*, etc.

§ 7. *ratis*] V *rati*; the other MSS. *rati se*. Most editors adopt *rati*; Ltb. suggests *ratis*, see explanatory note. The passage would be improved by the omission of the clause *ante noctem ratis invasuros*, as it adds nothing and might be a gloss explaining *sub occasum solis*.

§ 10. *inde ex loco munito*] The MSS. have *ex loco inde munito* from which it is difficult to get a satisfactory meaning. Dr Reid suggests the transposition of *inde*.

40. § 3. *quod humani superesset malī*] Finckh for *quod humanis superesset malis* of MSS.

§ 5. *petit*] V; *petiit* P, M.

§ 6. *sequentes*] Mvg. for *exequentes* of MSS.

§ 9. *vehens*] Ltb.; MSS. *habens*; Mvg. *avehens*. Val. Max 1. 1. 10 in describing the same incident has *vehens*.

§ 10. *publicas*] Vaassen for *publicos* of MSS.

41. § 3. *praeefante*] MSS. Mvg. adopts the emendation of Duker and reads *praeefante*, as *praeire* is technically used in this connection. See explanatory note.

42. § 3. *conspere*] Lipsius for *concupere* of MSS.

§ 6. *lux...inquieta*] The MSS. have *inquietam* in agreement with *noctem*, but *lux* requires some attribute.

43. § 1. *nequaquam*] I have written *nequaquam* for *nequiquam* of the MSS. The change is slight, and the error may have arisen from *nequiquam* occurring two lines above. It is difficult to extract a satisfactory sense from *nequiquam territos*; it would naturally mean 'terrified with vain fears' (cf. 28. 13 *nequiquam exterrita civitate*); the editors interpret it as meaning 'terrified without result' and say that we must understand that the Romans were in a panic, but still they would not yield. But we learn from the last sections of the preceding chapter that the panic was past, they were hardened and determined; *nequaquam territos* is therefore exactly appropriate.

44. § 1. *eguit*] emendation of Walker for *egit* of MSS., which can scarcely be applied to *fortuna*. Mvg. *coegit*; Mommsen *voluit*.

46. § 2. *cinctu*] V; the other MSS. *cinctus*. Wssb. suggests that we should read *Gabino cinctu cinctus*.

§ 9. *custodia*] Most MSS. have *custodiae*, but cf. the passages quoted in the explanatory note.

§ 11. *conpererit*] the reading of the late MSS. is preferable to *conperit* which occurs in the best MSS.

47. § 6. *turbatis mentibus*] Mvg. for *in turbatis mentibus* of MSS.

48. § 5. *abducere*] is the reading of almost all the MSS. Most of the editors on the authority of one late MS. emend to *adducere*.

§ 9. *vae victis*] The MSS. read *vae victis esse*. *Vae victis* is the usual phrase, and is quoted by Festus, p. 372, in connection with this incident.

50. § 2. *quod ea hostis possedisset*] *Quod* is emended by most editors to *quoad*. The same emendation has been proposed in 34. 6, but the use of *quod*=*quoad* seems to be sufficiently established. See explanatory note.

51. § 5. *prospera*] V; the other MSS. *prosperere*.

§ 9. *terra*] Gronovius for *terrae*. The locative *terrae* is found in the poets (= 'on the ground'); cf. Verg. *Aen.* XI. 87 *proiectus corpore terrae*; but its use in prose is not established.

52. § 1. *momenta*] Glareanus for *monumenta* of the MSS. Mvg. points out that *rerum eventa* cannot be properly described as *monumenta culti numinis*. The same change is found in some MSS. at I. 47. 6; II. 7. 10.

53. § 1. *at enim apparet quidem pollui omnia nec ullis piaculis expiari posse*] These words are not found in any MS. except V. The next clause obviously contains an objection which the speaker immediately answers; this objection could scarcely be introduced by *sed*.

It is best therefore to follow V. The letters *pollui om* are illegible in V, some word such as *pollui* or *violari* is required.

§ 5. *Romani*] The MSS. have *quam Romani*. Mvg. omits *quam*; he thinks Livy has used the well known form of putting a question and concluding an argument; cf. 52. 8.

54. § 3. *meaeque calamitatis*] H. J. M. for *quam meae calamitatis* of the MSS. The comparison is false; Mvg. omits *meae*.

eam] Mvg. for *ea* of MSS.

§ 4. *regionem Italiae mediam*] Mvg. for *regionum Italiae medium*.

§ 6. *ista expertis*] The MSS. have *expertis*, P *expertis latos*. The object to *expertis* must be expressed, and various emendations have been proposed.

55. § 1. *movisse*] V; the other MSS. *movisse eos*. *Movere* used absolutely (=to make an impression) is found also in III. 47. 4; XXVI. 24. 8.

missa] V; the other MSS. *emissa*. *Mittere vocem* is the usual phrase.

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